FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Please reply to
255 WEST 108th STREET
New York 25, N. Y.
Tel. Riverside 9-5734

Mr. T
Mr. M
Mr. B
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterr
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

58724

January 5, 1956

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The members of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., project which studies Communism and American society have subscribed to a number of Communist and pro-Communist publications in the course of accumulating documentary materials on the subject of their research. As a matter of office routine, I, as one of their secretaries, have signed a number of the letters in which these subscriptions were initiated.

One publication, the National Guardian, to which I sent the enclosed routine letter, asking for a subscription, on office letterhead, but signing my name, has placed my name on its subscription list. I want you to know that this is by no means my subscription, and that I have no connection whatever with this publication, nor sympathy with its views. Of course, the same is true of the other publications which we subscribe to for research purposes, and in whose records my name might appear.

ENCL.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Caryl S. Terry

Caryl S. Terry

cst

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

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2796039

RECORDED - 14
INDEXED - 14

100-391691-

JAN 11 1956

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JAN 6 1956

50 JAN 16 1956

C O P Y

E FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

please reply to
255 West 198th Stree
New York 25, N. Y.
Tel. RIverside 9-673

August 15, 1955

58725

Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc.
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Sirs:

We would like to subscribe to the National Guardian for the next six months. Would you please start sending us the issues immediately, and bill us for them.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Caryl S. Terry

cst/t

C O P Y

ENCLOSURE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. R. R. ROACH

DATE: January 9, 1956

FROM : MR. J. W. BROWN

SUBJECT: CARYL S. TERRY
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
PUBLICATION SUBSCRIPTIONS

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Caryl S. Terry, by letter of January 5, 1956, advised that she in connection with the business of the Fund for the Republic by whom she is employed as a secretary, had subscribed to a number of Communist and pro-Communist publications in the course of accumulating documentary material on that subject in connection with research. The purpose of this letter was to advise that she had no connection whatsoever with the publication "National Guardian" which she subscribed to on the letterhead of the Fund for the Republic. She emphasized that this was not her subscription, that she had no connection with the publication or any sympathy with its views.

Bureau files are negative concerning Caryl S. Terry.

In view of the fact that Terry wrote to the Bureau on the letterhead of the Fund for the Republic with only the Fund's return address in New York City, it is recommended that no acknowledgement be made in view of the controversial nature of the Fund for the Republic.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this communication be filed with no acknowledgement made.

JWB:mlp
(3)
1 - Mr. Brown
1 - Sect. tick.

RECORDED - 14
INDEXED - 14
EX-126

100-391697-324

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

269

JAN 16 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: December 23, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
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Gandy

Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), informed me that the American Committee of Cultural Freedom had a committee consisting of Norman Thomas, Sidney Hook and others who had a conference with Robert Maynard Hutchins, Paul Jacobs and Ben Segal; that Thomas and Hook took the Fund for the Republic to task and Thomas specifically told Ferman that he has known Hutchins for many years and at the recent conference, for the first time, Hutchins shed his demeanor of arrogance.

Ferman further told me Morris Ernst advised him that a Fund for the Republic survey on blacklisting had been completed; that it takes a very vigorous stand against the extent of blacklisting, but the Fund for the Republic is now afraid to release it.

Ferman stated he had seen Elmo Roper recently. Roper expressed regret that he had not had the opportunity of having the dinner meeting with Fulton Lewis that had been planned early in the fall; that he now felt that the relationship of Fulton Lewis and the Fund for the Republic had gotten to the point where no useful purpose would be served by conferring with Lewis. Roper indicated that he wants to see Congressman Walter with Dean Griswald of Harvard University regarding the so-called House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation of the Fund for the Republic. He further told Ferman that the Board of Trustees is becoming more and more convinced that Hutchins is the wrong person for the job, and Ferman feels that they are pretty much fed up with Hutchins. Ping Ferry at the present time, according to Ferman, is on terminal leave.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 97

100-391697-325

LBN:arm:jec
(4)

INDEXED - 97

20 JAN 11 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-4-89 BY

CRIME REC.

61 JAN 12 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: 12-20-55

FROM : Mr. Price

SUBJECT: MR. DONALD ROGERS,
"NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,"
INFORMATION CONCERNING
"THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

Tolson
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On an American Airlines plane flight from Los Angeles to Fort Worth 12-14-55, Mr. Donald Rogers, Financial and Business Editor, New York "Herald Tribune," was a fellow passenger of SA Charles L. Green. Mr. Rogers was to make a speech at Dallas, Texas, that evening.

In a conversation about the NY "Herald Tribune," SA Green related to Mr. Rogers a statement once made to SA Green by the late Gilbert Heal, for many years managing editor of the "Salt Lake Tribune," to the effect that the Salt Lake paper had for years followed the lead of the New York "Herald Tribune" as to editorial policy and news selection on national and foreign matters, but had discontinued this policy shortly after World War II because of the apparent change of policy by the New York paper. Both papers had been strong advocates of the Republican Party and the free enterprise economic system. Mr. Gilbert Heal and SA Green met on occasion in the home of Mr. Heal's son, brother-in-law of SA Green.

Mr. Rogers responded to the effect that the New York "Herald Tribune" had "deviated" for a period under the influence of a group of editors who had the confidence of Whitelaw Reid, then president of the paper. He mentioned specifically Joseph Barnes and Walter Millis as being editors "who came close to following the Communist Party line." He stressed particularly the role of Millis as having influenced the paper's policy and in this regard mentioned the strong support given the Amerasia subjects by the NY "Herald Tribune" as an indication of the "party line" followed.

Mr. Rogers claimed that he and "Brownie" Reid planned and executed a coup which displaced Whitelaw Reid in favor of "Brownie" after which Millis, Barnes, et al, were removed from their positions and the former policy restored. Mr. Rogers appeared to include himself as a "member of the family" in speaking of the Reids. It is noted that "Who's Who in America" gives the elder Mrs. Ogden Reid's maiden name as Rogers.

Further concerning Walter Millis, Mr. Rogers said Millis is now in an influential capacity with "The Fund For The Republic," which is attacking the American judicial system and the FBI's work in the security field. Mr. Rogers expressed strongly the opinion that "The Fund For The Republic" is falsely proclaiming a civil rights advocacy for the purpose of undermining true civil rights so capably guarded by the present judicial system and the

JAN 6 1956

cc: Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont

SENT DIRECTOR 12-22-55

What do our files show on Millis?

CLG:mrs (8)

FBI. He said we all should have complete faith in the judicial system and the FBI. He was very emphatic in proclaiming the integrity of the FBI and the Director.

During the conversation Mr. Rogers had no way of knowing of SA Green's connection with the FBI and voiced his observations solely in reply to the reference to Mr. Gilbert Heal's quoted remarks. SA Green introduced himself as an FBI Agent as Mr. Rogers prepared to leave the plane at Dallas and thanked Mr. Rogers for his complimentary remarks about the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information as to the attitude toward the FBI of a highly placed staff member of the New York "Herald Tribune."

FD-36

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

A I R T E L

New York, NY 12/21/55

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Federal Judge THOMAS F. MURPHY, SDNY, made available to NYO, report entitled, "THE FULTON LEWIS JR. REPORT ON THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC". It is printed by Special Reports, INC., Washington, D.C. This is a 108 page document and is highly critical of the officers of this fund and its operations.

Since Bureau may already be in possession of this document, same will not be forwarded unless requested.

KELLY

3)- BUREAU (RM)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

TJS:abb (#1)
NY 62-11509

RECORDED-42 100-391697-326

20 JAN 11 1956

100-391697

63 JAN 12 1956

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: January 5, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

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Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
REPORT ON THE FUND
FOR THE REPUBLIC

Attached is a booklet which reflects the comments of Fulton Lewis, Jr. on his radio program during the period August 22, 1955, through October 28, 1955, concerning the Fund for the Republic. As you know, he has been very critical of the Fund. The booklet itself, in addition to containing pertinent portions of his broadcasts, identifies the directors, officers and staff of the Fund, as well as officers and trustees of the Ford Foundation. Additionally, the booklet contains an excellent index to material in Lewis' broadcasts.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Nichols, with copy of enclosure

cc - Mr. Roach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

GMP:rm
(6)

ENCLOSURE DETACHED FILE

(21)

RECORDED 124 - 37[illegible] - 327

INDEXED

8 JAN 11 1956

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JAN 2 1 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: January 3, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
JANUARY 3, 1956

On this date, Mr. Lewis made one brief reference to the Fund for the Republic stating that Chairman Francis Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had received an emissary from the Fund for the Republic who attempted to get the HUAC to call off a possible investigation of the Fund. According to Lewis, the emissary suggested that the committee concentrate on the Director of the Fund, Robert M. Hutchins, and indicated they might consider getting rid of Mr. Hutchins if the committee did not investigate the Fund itself. Mr. Lewis raised the question of why the Fund is worried, adding that Bernard Baruch has remarked that the only thing to fear is guilt.

Mr. Lewis made one other reference which may be of interest to the Bureau while referring to the new session of Congress and the small chances of labor legislation in this session. He remarked that there is a wide divergence of thought in the new AFL-CIO since the merger, with the CIO maintaining socialistic tendencies. He pointed out that Walter Reuther spent many years being schooled in Moscow under the communists.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697
cc - Walter Reuther file 116-421930
Attention Mr. Callan

100-391697

NOT RECORDED
101 JAN 12 1956

6 JAN 10 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-80 BY

JRH:rcw
(8)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

January 3, 1956

DIRECTOR, FBI

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY 2083 ON 8-4-89

I thought that you might be interested in the following incident which has been called to the Bureau's attention on a very personal and ~~confidential~~ basis.

It is reported that on August 22, 1955, Mr. Ben Ginzburg of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights upbraided a member of the clerical staff of this committee by the name of Miss Simmons. Miss Elisabeth J. Hand interceded on behalf of Miss Simmons who apparently was a subordinate of Miss Hand. It is reported that Miss Simmons was shocked at the manner in which Mr. Ginzburg spoke to her, and Miss Hand interceded and suggested to Mr. Ginzburg that he had said enough. At this point, Mr. Ginzburg rushed at Miss Hand. It is reported that his arms were raised and Miss Hand was terrified at the expression on his face and in a hysterical manner asked Ginzburg if he were going to hit her. At this point, Mr. Lon Hocker, the Counsel for the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, apparently attracted by the commotion, left the office of Mr. Marshall MacDuffie, a former Counsel, and entered the room where the fracas was taking place and is reported to have observed Ginzburg shouting at Miss Hand, forcing her back in between two desks. It is further stated that Ginzburg took the position that either Miss Hand had to be fired or he would leave the committee. Accordingly, on the evening of August 22, 1955, Miss Hand was informed by Marshall MacDuffie that he was discharging her from her position on the committee at the direction of Mr. Lon Hocker.

It is reported that Miss Hand is very much disturbed over the manner in which she was discharged from the committee and has attempted to work out some kind of arrangement whereby she could return to the committee and then terminate her services without having a notation of being discharged on her record. Apparently the committee has been unwilling to do this, and there is some indication that Miss Hand might seek redress from other members of the Senate. It certainly seems rather shocking that this committee will tolerate such highhanded actions and, at the same time, be sitting in judgment on the Federal Employee Security Program.

In connection with the work of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, we have been further informed Mr. Langdon West,

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Holloman
Gandy

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:armcm
(7)

MAILED 2
JAN 3 1956
COMM-FBI

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Administrative Assistant to Senator Hennings, is still trying to find some way whereby the committee could subject Elizabeth Bentley to investigation. You will recall that William Henry Taylor and his Counsel have been seeking an investigation of Miss Bentley for an extended period of time. Mr. Ginzburg is reported to have been actively engaged in investigating Miss Bentley. In the past Ginzburg, according to reports, has been in frequent contact with the Fund for the Republic staff in New York.

cc: Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: Dec. 30, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

[redacted] has confidentially given me a copy of a letter addressed to Lon Hocker of the Hennings Subcommittee dated August 30, 1955, by Elisabeth J. Hand. The letter points out that she had been discharged unjustifiably by the Subcommittee; that on one occasion Ben Ginzburg rushed at her with his arms raised and a wild look on his face. She was terrified and asked Ginzburg if he was going to hit her. The letter points out to Hocker that Hocker came out of the office of Marshall MacDuffie in time to see Ginzurg still hemming her in between the two desks and shouting at her. Miss Hand then pleads for another chance, and it really is quite a letter describing a sordid situation in a committee which purports to set itself up as a monitor of the Federal Employee Security Program.

b7D

[redacted] told me in confidence that he is trying to get Miss Hand to talk to some friendly newspaperman and bring this out into the open. If she won't do this, then he will try to get her to talk to Senator O'Mahoney, whom he thinks will intervene--in any event, he is trying to get this out in the open.

b7D

[redacted] further told me that Langdon West, Senator Hennings' Administrative Assistant, was still trying to find out some way to investigate Elizabeth Bentley.

2 ENCL

[redacted] stated he had talked to Max Rabb in the White House about the Fund for the Republic and Rabb agrees something should be done about the Fund and Rabb is suspicious of the Paul Hoffman tie-in.

2 ENCL
1 orig signed

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
LBN:arm
(4)

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NOT RECORDED
188 JAN 6 1956

17 JAN 5 1956

INDEXED-COPY FILED IN

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SBC

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: December 28, 1955

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: WALTER MILLIS

Tolson
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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

The files were reviewed on captioned individual pursuant to the Director's request after Mr. Donald Rogers of the "New York Herald-Tribune" remarked that while Millis was employed with referenced newspaper he was one of the editors "who came close to following the Communist Party line."

Millis has never been investigated by the Bureau. From 1934-43 he was associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), having served on its Board of Trustees and contributed articles to its publications. In 1934 Frederick V. Field, well-known for his support of Communist front organizations, stated he had talked with Millis concerning preparation of a monograph for the IPR. Field stated in part "...we'll have quite a hand in whatever he (Millis) does in this office... ." On 5-18-43 Walter Millis was one of 700 "leading Americans" who signed an open letter sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (cited by AG) protesting against the wave of anti-Soviet slanders at that time. 62-100013-3

On 12-22-54 Millis, as a consultant with the Fund for the Republic, was reported to have prepared working papers for a study of the Federal security program. On 10-5-55 News Commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr reported Millis had stated it was not the mechanics of the Federal security program to which he objected but the entire program itself. Lewis continued that Millis had referred to the FBI as a "secret political police," which language was straight from Communist lexicon. On 10-11-55 Millis addressed a letter to the editor of "Boston Daily Record" accusing Lewis of quoting only part of his statement concerning the security program. Millis said no doubt Communists had used the same phrases in referring to the FBI since "they are adept in aping the phrases in which most of our liberties are enshrined." Millis continued: "But if we have reached a point at which it is on that account no longer allowable to describe as 'a secret political police' an organization which is avowedly a police organization, avowedly operates in secret and is avowedly much concerned with political conspiracy (on all three points I need only cite its director's speech before the International Association of Chiefs of Police on October 3), then I think our danger is more danger than I had supposed." 100-391677-4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

RECOMMENDATION:

NOT RECORDED 176 JAN 6 1956

This is for information.

17 JAN 6 1956

SHR:sam (6)

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Miss Rogers
1 - Sect. Tick

SENT DIRECTOR

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: January 10, 1956

FROM : E. B. Bloom

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The D. C. Bar Association is meeting at the Mayflower Hotel this evening and one issue to be presented will be whether or not the D. C. Bar Association should accept a $25,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Some of the members have taken the position although they don't like the Fund they are afraid if they don't accept the grant it would possibly be offered to some other group.

This grant would be used primarily to investigate into passport matters. John Thomas Taylor, former General Counsel of the American Legion, is vitally opposed to this grant. He is a member of a Subcommittee who voted against this grant. It left the Subcommittee and was referred to the Board of Directors who in turn sent it to the Executive Committee, where no action was taken. It will be brought to a vote before the full membership tonight.

John Lord O'Brien is a member who is organizing a group to vote in favor of the grant by the Fund.

Fulton Lewis Jr. referred to John Lord O'Brien on his broadcast last evening.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information purposes.

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(4)

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EX-126

100-391697

-328

16 JAN 18 1956

[illegible]

[illegible] January [illegible], 1954

[illegible]

Mr. Lewis began his broadcast by apologizing most profusely to [illegible] Wannamaker, Vice Superintendent of Instruction of the State of [illegible]. Lewis said that in his broadcast of January 4 he had made a most horrifying mistake. He said that in his broadcast of the 4th he was discussing a Mrs. Shuckhoop (phon.) TEACHER who had pleaded the Fifth Amendment and who had been suspended by her County Superintendent. Mrs. Shuckhoop had her appeal of her case to Mrs. Wannamaker and the [illegible] reviews the County Superintendent's decision. During the course of the [illegible], Lewis said that Mrs. Wannamaker's maiden name was Wheaton and that [illegible] Wheaton, George [illegible] Wheaton, who had been in the State Department and who [illegible]. He admit that he was going to look into the background of Mrs. Wannamaker.

Lewis said that he had checked the facts very carefully and that in writing [illegible] Mrs. Wannamaker when in fact he should have written [illegible] Actually, the Wheatons were the brothers of Mrs. Shuckhoop.

Lewis said that following the broadcast he was in contact with one of his [illegible] Washington and that the source had indicated he had made an [illegible]. Lewis said that this was impossible but when he checked the script the [illegible] morning he discovered the mistake. He said that he was publicly apologizing [illegible] Wannamaker, that he had sent her a telegram so apologizing and that she was [illegible] have any air time necessary over his program. Our memorandum of January 6, [illegible] was [illegible] and corrected in that it reflected the above [illegible].

Mr. Lewis then turned his discussion to the fact that [illegible] the Chamber of Associations [illegible] and [illegible] said that the Board of [illegible] of the [illegible] was going [illegible] prepared office to the entire [illegible] The Board was aware of the past history of the Fund [illegible] to take the responsibility for a decision on the matter.

[illegible]
[illegible] Boardman
[illegible] Lohrbach
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Lewis said that the Fund's offer was made some weeks ago and was referred to the Bar Association's Internal Security Committee which over some very violent opposition recommended that the grant be accepted. The matter then went to the Administrative Law Section where there was another big fight and it finally recommended to the Board of Directors that the grant be accepted. He added that the Board had the power to accept but refused to do so and "passed the hot potato" to the entire membership.

Lewis said the Fund For the Republic which ~~wants~~ to get the Bar Association to lend its dignity and prestige to another slanted Left Wing project. He said it revolves itself around whether or not passports should be issued to persons of questionable loyalty. Lewis went into the fact that it has been the contention that passports were a right rather than a privilege and the State Department has often denied passports to those individuals whose foreign travel would be detrimental to the United States. He said that the left-wing groups have drummed up a noisy clammer of criticism against the withholding of passports.

Lewis said that the ultraliberal, John Lloyd O'Brian, a member of the Board of Directors for the Fund For the Republic and also a member of the D. C. Bar will be present tonight to explain the need for this particular project.

Lewis said this is the same O'Brian who wrote the book, "National Security and the Individual Freedom," some thousands of copies of which were distributed by the Fund. The book is the usual diatribe of double talk against the Government's Loyalty-Security Program. It is an attempt to persuade the reader that there is no danger from communists in Government or elsewhere and that innocent [illegible]ens cringe and cower and live in fear night and day because of the anti-Communist [illegible]ria which has been imposed upon the Nation by unprincipal politicians and evil [illegible]andists.

Lewis said that if O'Brian had anything to do with this proposed study [illegible]sults will justify the very worst fears that the barristers may be entertaining [illegible] present.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

January 9, 1950

W. C. Jones

[illegible] January 9, 1950

Mr. Lewis in his broadcast this evening briefly mentioned the hearings held by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in New York City concerning communism in the newspaper industry. He mentioned that some of the witnesses today were employed [illegible] its [illegible].

[illegible] Mrs. [illegible] had maneuvered herself into a prominent position [illegible]

Lewis said he was asked at that time that Mrs. [illegible] [illegible] been in the State Department, and was that being the Iron Curtain. [illegible]

(See Addendum page 2)

ADDENDUM: LBN:ptm 1-7-56

Fulton Lewis called me prior to his broadcast on January 6th and advised that he had run into a startling situation; namely, a Tacoma, Washington, teacher, Margaret Jean Schuddakopf, was suspended in the Summer of 1954 when she took the Fifth Amendment before the HCUA; that she is a sister of George Wheeler and Donald Shaw Wheeler. (This is wrong, it is George Shaw Wheeler and Donald Niven Wheeler.) He stated that Pearl Wannamaker, the State Superintendent of Education in Washington, had reversed the suspension and restored Schuddakopf to a teacher's status. The local school board, however, refused to reinstate her and the Attorney General Don Eastvold has refused to represent Pearl A. Wannamaker in an action brought by the local school board in the Superior Court to set aside Pearl Wannamaker's order restoring the Schuddakopf woman to a teacher status. Fulton was wondering if we could identify George Shaw Wheeler and Donald Niven Wheeler for him.

After making a quick check, I called Russ Turner and informed Russ that George Shaw Wheeler was the subject of a fighting denunciation by Congressman Fred Busbey in 1954; that George Shaw Wheeler was taken into the Board of Economic Warfare by Max Lowenthal; that he subsequently defected to Czechoslovakia and the May, 1950, issue of Slovakian Life carried a glowing interview with Wheeler wherein he lauded the Slovakian way of life.

After hearing Fulton's broadcast wherein he named Pearl Margaret Jean Wannamaker as the sister of George Shaw Wheeler, and Donald Niven Wheeler, since I could find nothing in the file linking the Wheelers with Wannamaker, I called Fulton. Fulton was certain that I had misunderstood his broadcast. On the morning of January 7th Roger Robb, Fulton's attorney, called me and stated that Fulton had really screwed up the matter when he mentioned the name Margaret Jean Wannamaker instead of Margaret Schuddakopf; that the Wannamaker woman was screaming and Fulton would have to straighten this out on Monday night; that he fully expects a libel suit to grow out of this. At the time I talked to Turner I made it crystal clear that I knew nothing about Pearl Wannamaker or Margaret Schuddakopf, but that I was merely identifying George Shaw Wheeler and Donald Niven Wheeler and the information given to Turner was public source material.

UO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

January 17, 1956

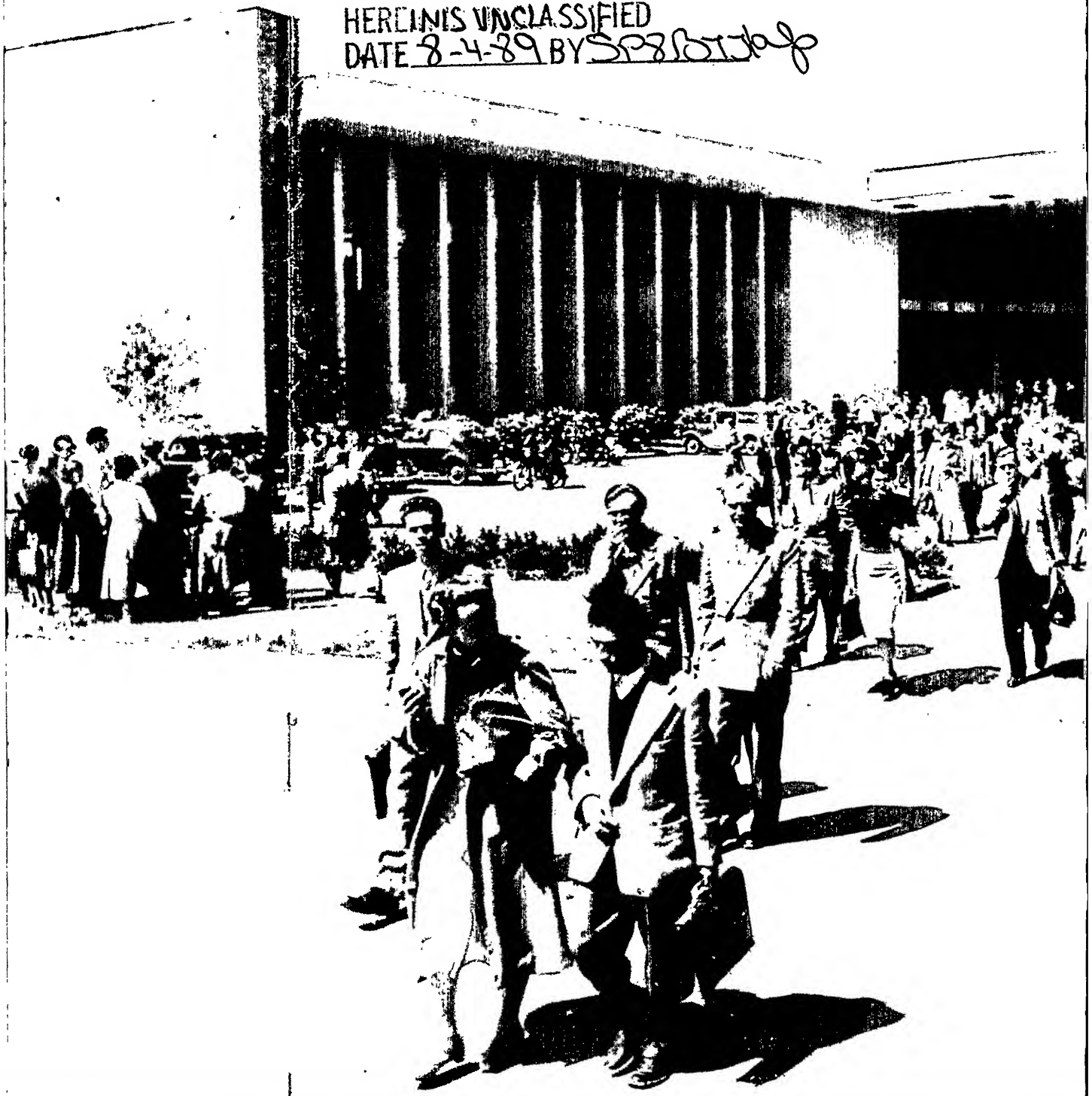
The attached was sent to the Director by the Ford Foundation, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Attachment
hmb (1)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Jones
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

with the compliments of

H. Rowan Gaither, Jr. president
the Ford Foundation



The Ford Foundation

477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

than in most traditional German colleges. Even the idea of "working one's way through college" is fully accepted — with jobs ranging from baby-sitting to cab-driving.

From one damaged old building and two telephones, the Free University has grown to twice the size of the old Humboldt University on the Soviet side: today it has 6,000 students and 120 institutes. Even foreign students enroll regularly each term.

"The Reds used to say there is room for only one university in Berlin," said a young history professor who had been part of the original insurgent group. "Maybe they are right."

Visiting professor conducts class in American literature

Front-line University appeared in the August 27, 1955, issue of the New York Herald Tribune–This Week Magazine. It is copyrighted, 1955, by the New York Herald Tribune, Inc. and reprinted by permission. Photos: Page 3, United Press; Page 5, Wide World.

Additional copies may be obtained by writing the Office of Reports, The Ford Foundation, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Often the Communist authorities, suspecting that a student may want to "transfer" to the West, will purposely "mark him down." The Free University students' committee has its way of checking whether low grades are the result of low scholastic or faulty political background.

Although the Communists have tried to denounce the Free University as a school for "saboteurs and spies," nothing could be farther from the truth. In fact, the nickname "Fighting University" applies to a two-front war: the one against Communist dictatorship is obvious; the other, against hidebound reaction, is less sensational but equally important.

Take some examples:

In the Ford Foundation-supported new buildings, lecture halls have been augmented by seminar rooms. The debates have been lively and not at all dominated by the "old gentlemen" — the professors who traditionally used to dictate both the scholarly and the social tone in Germany.

The students have never relinquished their original power as co-founders. They sit in the highest governing body, the University Senate. They attend faculty meetings, with full voting powers.

"Before the war," an official said, "only three per cent of Germany's university students came from workers' or peasants' homes. At the Free University today the proportion is almost 30 per cent." Perhaps equally significant in a formerly male-dominated society: 25 per cent of the students today are women.

I asked the student leaders about the old rank-conscious fraternities and their tradition of nationalism and duelling. In such long-established West German universities as Marburg I had witnessed the rebirth of such extremist groups as early as 1949.

"We're strongly against it," said an efficient 22-year-old girl in student headquarters. "We require a student pledge against it and against all discriminatory practices against other students. The realities of life are too close to us to fool around with that stuff."

Even in its administration and control the Free University has cut through the academic strait jacket. While the other German universities are controlled by the regional Ministries of Education, the Free University is ruled by a governing board that includes city officials, professors, leading citizens and a student.

DOUBLE VICTORY

Today a battle has been won. The life of the students here — only a short subway ride from the Soviet sector — is not only free from political domination; it also is more purposeful and democratic

A few months ago, an East German student named Klein died in jail after serving four years and five months for alleged anti-Soviet activities at the University of Leipzig. This spring medical students of the East German University of Greifswald went on strike against an order that would convert their college into a military academy. Twelve of the strikers are still in prison. In fall, according to a recent report, Soviet zone students will have to submit their theses for state diplomas in Russian as well as in German.

These are just a few examples, among dozens that crop up every month, that reveal the state of academic life in Soviet Germany. They are also the reasons why, for almost seven years, East German students have taken heavy risks, left their families, faced economic and political uncertainties in order to study at West Berlin's young but thriving Free University.

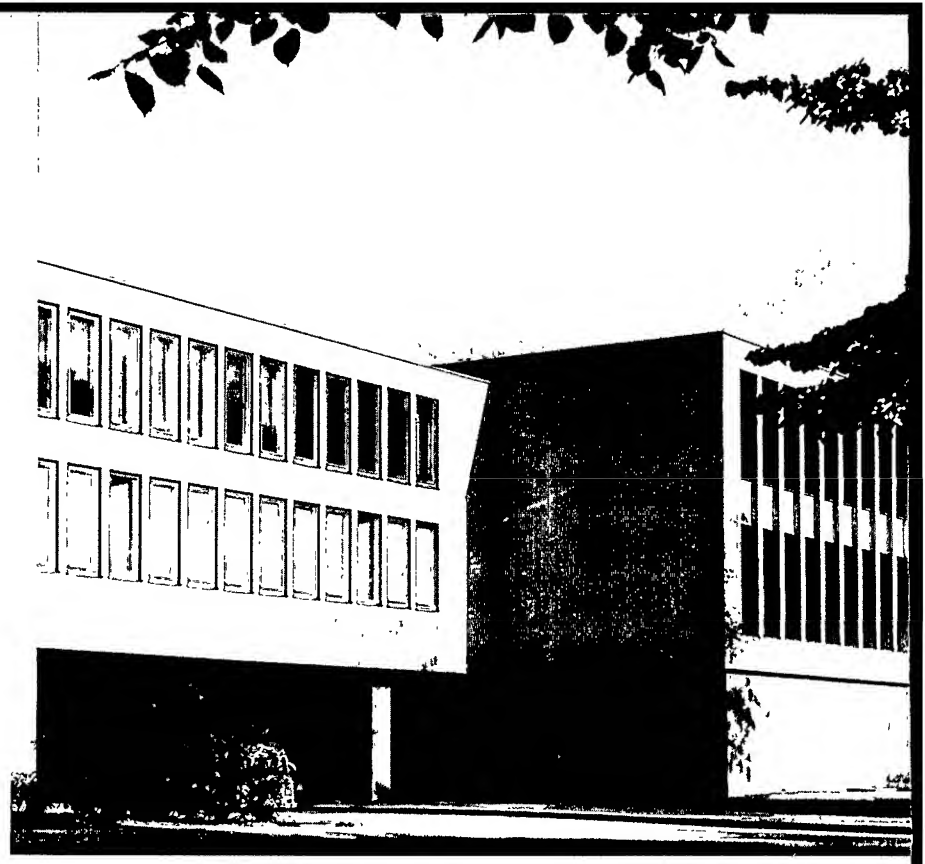
Almost half of the institution's 7,000 students today come from the Soviet zone. In this quiet, prosperous, residential district of Berlin-Dahlem — around the new, tastefully functional Ford Foundation-financed main buildings — there are few signs of struggle. But to the students and teachers who helped build this oasis of academic freedom, the school will always be known as the "Fighting University."

When the Soviets moved into Berlin, they found in their zone the historic University of Berlin where, since its founding in 1809, such men as Mommsen, Hegel and Hartmann had taught. The West tried to place the school under four-power administration, but the Russians vetoed every such move. It became theirs, under the new name of Humboldt University.

Almost at once they remade it in their image. Party-line teachers and students were given extra pay and rations. A "prep school" was set up to assure the university of a cadre of "right-thinking" candidates. A special teacher-training division turned out anti-capitalist lecturers. Fixed elections turned the student council over to Communist youth activities.

THE HEAVY HAND

Despite those heavy-handed politics, some 6,000 students enrolled. One of them, now a young faculty member at the Free University, explained it to me: "We were starved for learning. We wanted to get on with our work. We thought we could just ignore the politics."



Clean exterior lines and uncluttered staircase (left) are typical of Free University's design

"CROSSING THE LINE"

Those who took the chance did so under the leadership of Friedrich Meinecke, the distinguished historian. Although 86 years old, he walked out of Humboldt University to become the new school's first rector. The Free University was officially opened on December 4, 1948.

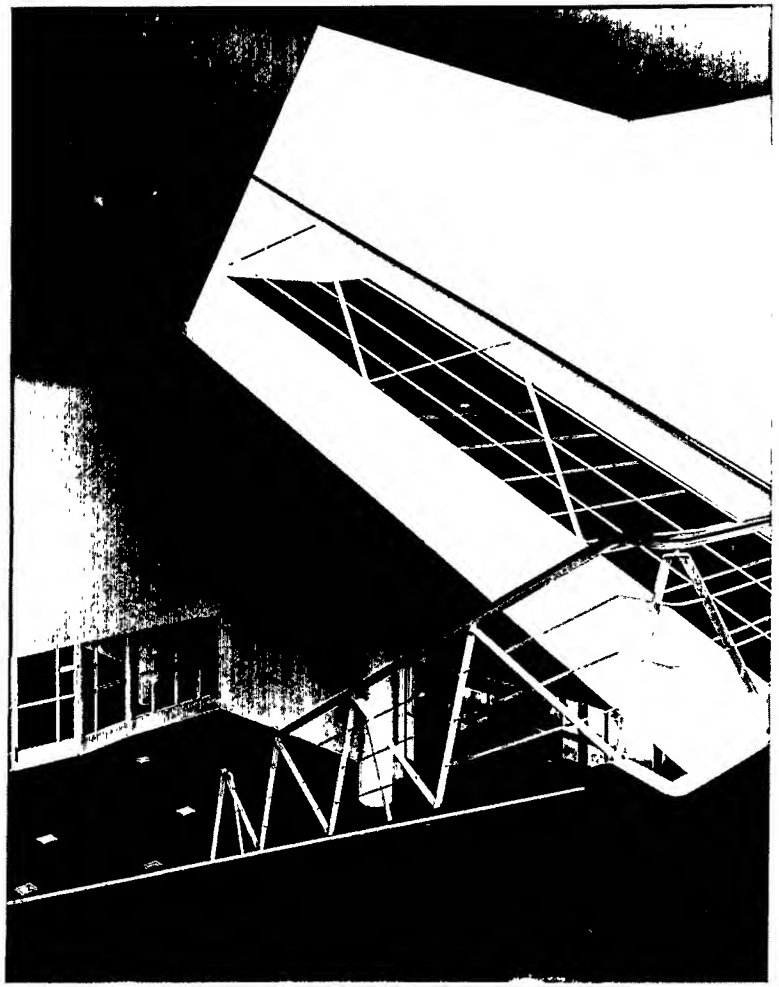
From the outset the approximately 40 per cent of students from East Germany have been braving danger and hardship to continue their studies. They have had to "cross the line" with all that term implies. Many failed to return after vacation trips home. Others gave up their homes altogether.

At times the East German education authorities have tried to make it impossible for students to obtain records and their grades. With the approval of the university authorities, students at the Free University, therefore, set up a '*Referat für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen*' (Office for All-German Problems) which tests and grades applicants for admission.

millions of dollars. Old buildings of the former Kaiser Wilhelm Institute were given to the university.

Students and professors labored day and night — repaired roofs, built chairs and tables, carried together books to create a library. With the installation of two telephones the Free University of Berlin was declared in being. Its motto: Truth, Justice, Freedom.

But while 3,500 students applied for admission even before it was certain that the new school would ever open, professors were hard to get. "You can't blame them too much," said one of the assistants. "Academic tradition is important here. It is hard for an older man to give up salary, position and tenure, and gamble on the future on a new and shaky institution in the midst of a beleaguered city. We were lucky that anybody took the chance."



Students helped fill in muddy footpaths on campus. Construction (left) of auditorium and library was aided by Ford Foundation grant

He soon found that he, and thousands like him, were wrong. Early in 1947 anti-Communist professors began to be dismissed. In March three non-Communist student leaders were kidnaped and jailed.

Out of this tragedy arose the opposition. In Germany, a country of strong academic conservatism and a good deal of long-bearded stuffiness, the Free University was to become the first institution to be demanded by students rather than professors, fought for, founded and built with student leadership.

In reply to the kidnaping and other political persecution, the students made their own newspaper, "Colloquium," the center of opposition. Many of the editors had been persecuted by the Nazis only a few years earlier; now they were ready to fight a new tyrant. As a result, in April, 1948, three student editors were expelled.

Interior of library is spacious, light, modern

"What followed was fantastic," recalls a student. "We marched in protest parades. We crossed over into West Berlin to ask for a free university there."

These meetings produced a committee which was joined by Kendall Foss, an American journalist. Professor Ernst Reuter, later Berlin's famous mayor, accepted chairmanship. The American newspaperman called on General Lucius D. Clay, the American military governor, and asked for help.

"You know," said a German editor to me recently, "the fact that one of the most important American military leaders listened to a newspaperman about the need for a university may have been the most significant lesson in the founding of this university. It set an example — not only of the power of the press in a free country but of the way in which an army should serve rather than dictate."

A HARD YEAR

It was not an easy year to start a university in cut-off, destitute Berlin. It may be symbolic that the secretariat of the Free University was actually set up on the very day — June 24, 1948 — on which Russia cut all remaining rail traffic and the Berlin blockade began in earnest.

But the students and the committee pressed for immediate action. The American military government offered $600,000 from a fund collected through the sale of American-sponsored German publications. Since then American sources have contributed many

Chemistry students wear traditional knitted cap of the science major. Much laboratory equipment has been donated by U. S. colleges.

reprinted from

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

This Week
MAGAZINE

FRONT-LINE UNIVERSITY

by Fred M. Hechinger

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Mr. Nichols

January 17, 1956

W. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-4-89 BY

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST ON JANUARY 17, 1956

Mr. Lewis announced tonight that Paul Hughes went on trial in Federal Court in New York today for representing himself as an investigator of the old McCarthy committee. He pointed out that Hughes sold a large quantity of false information to various newspapers and professional McCarthy haters, which he had claimed was taken from McCarthy's secret files. He informed that the individuals who were discussed by Hughes were four editors of the Washington Post, the Deputy Director of the Democratic National Committee and Joseph L. Rauh Jr., former Attorney of Record for the Communist Government of Poland and now head of Americans for Democratic Action. He reported that in the opening statements for the defense today it was disclosed that Hughes, who spent seventeen years in the Air Force, made his first contact with the Deputy Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Clayton Fritchey, who in turn passed the story along to Joe Rauh, James Reechler of the New York Post and to the group of four from the Washington Post staff including the publisher, Philip Graham. Mr. Lewis alleged that at the time Hughes was approached the Washington Post had twenty articles ready for publication based on his "revelations." Mr. Lewis commented that the other part of the situation is that all of these persons stated that they believed the information was authentic and that Hughes was telling the truth. He concluded this in the light of the fact that none of the information had been reported to Federal Bureau of Investigation authorities although much of it was material which should have been reported.

Mr. Lewis reported that Basil L. Walters of the Freight Forwarding Office announced his opposition today to the proposed survey of the objectivity of newspaper coverage during the coming election campaign to be done by Sigma Delta Chi journalistic fraternity and foremost among his objections is the fact that the survey is to be financed by Robert Maynard Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Walters claimed that it is morally wrong for the fraternity to accept its membership as the acceptance of a grant from a tax-exempt foundation. He said, being tax-exempt, these foundations are worthy of special vigilance of all newspapers.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

Mr. Nichols
Mr. Harrison
Mr. Belmont
All for the Republic file

100-391677

20

1-1 753

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 1/16/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Karl Baarslag, a former investigator with the McCarthy Committee and who at one time served as Director of the Americanism Commission of the American Legion, dropped by on 1/12/56, and due to my being tied up on the Brink's case, talked with DeLoach. Baarslag is now connected with the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

According to Baarslag, Congressman Walter (D-Pa.) has assigned him the job of doing research on the Fund for the Republic. Russ Turner, of Fulton Lewis' Staff, has given Baarslag considerable information thus far. The American Legion has indicated a willingness to turn over all their information concerning the Fund for the Republic, however, Baarslag is of the opinion that the Reece Committee has better material than the Legion. Baarslag stated that nothing could be done on an active basis until March of 1956, because Congressman Walter plans to leave the U. S. in the very near future and will be overseas on a trip for approximately one month. After Walter's return, hearings will then be held. Baarslag is enthusiastic over the possibility of striking a good blow against the Fund for the Republic. He is somewhat alarmed, however, over the loose efficiency and slipshod manner in which the administration of the HCUA is conducted. He states there is no discipline and that all Staff members are political appointees. Tom Beale is leaving 3/1/56, for retirement and therefore has little interest in promoting the activities of the HCUA.

Baarslag stated that Don Appel, an investigator for the HCUA, told him on 1/11/56, that Congressman Walter has been rather desperate in his attempts to establish good liaison with the FBI. Appel stated that Congressman Walter would be very glad to hire anyone if only for the purpose of hiring an individual that would be acceptable to the FBI for liaison purposes. Appel was of the opinion that something had happened between the FBI and Congressman Walter and that the Congressman

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Rosen

CDD:fc
(5)

NOT RECORDED
44 FEB 1 1956

JAN 31 1956

FEB 6 1956

REMAINS ON ORIGINAL

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols 1/16/56
RE: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

was not acceptable at this time nor were any of his Staff members. Baarslag stated he merely listened to Appel and did not take any sides in this matter.

b7D

ACTION:

For record purposes.

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

ry 13, 1956

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST
7:00 P. M., January 13, 1956

Lewis made no reference to the Ford Fund for the Republic during this broadcast.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

:M:mbk
(7)

100-391697

Mr. Nichol

January 13, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
January 12, 1956
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

During his 7:00 P. M. broadcast last night, Fulton Lewis, Jr., mentioned that the Fund for the Republic was having internal trouble. He explained that at a Board of Director's meeting held at Directors' meeting held last Saturday, January 7, 1956, it was necessary to dissuade 3 directors who wanted to resign. Criticism of the operations of the Fund for the Republic, according to Mr. Lewis, was very severe at this meeting. Oddly enough, Mr. Lewis stated, the criticism was not so much about what the Fund has accomplished but related to the public relations side of the Fund--the manner in which projects had been presented to the public. Mr. Lewis noted that this was significant as either the members of the Board of Directors don't realize what is going on under them or are not taking the time to look beyond the glamorous and idealistic titles of the various Fund projects, or they are too "stupid and gullible" to note the real purpose and objectives of some of the projects of the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Lewis remarked that members of the Board of Directors will soon find out the truth about the objectives of the projects when a Congressional committee begins hearing under oath as witnesses are available who can testify as to the statements made by the Operating Vice President of the Fund for the Republic as to what he intended to do with the operations of it. The Operating Vice President of the Fund, according to Mr. Lewis, intends to expose the "myth that communism is any clear or present danger to the United States." Mr. Lewis expressed the opinion that maybe the members of the Board of Directors will come to their senses when this testimony is brought out.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

GEM:mbk
(7)

A memo from IRVING FERMAN

1/16/56

Dear Lou:

I think you might be interested in this. Evidently, it will be the standard answer for all critical references to the controversial sentences in the report.

RECORDED - 69
INDEXED - 69 100-391697-330

2 ENCLS

JAN 31 56

CRIM REC

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Fund For The Republic

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-4-89 BY

62 FEB 3 1956

(2-22-55)
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTI

_____, 1950

TO:

___Director
___Mr. Tolson, 5744
___Mr. Boardman, 5736
___Mr. Belmont, 1742
___Mr. Mason, 5256
___Mr. Mohr, 5517
___Mr. Parsons, 7621
___Mr. Rosen, 5706
___Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB
___Mr. Sizoo, 1742

___Mr. Nichols, 5640
___Mr. McGuire, 5642
___Mr. Wick, 5634
___Mr. DeLoach, 5636
___Mr. Morgan, 5226

___Mr. Jones, 4236
___Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB
___Mr. Waikart, 7204
___Mr. Eames, 7206
___Mr. Wherry, 5537

___Mr. Near
___Miss Gar
___Mr. Holl

___Records
___Pers. Re
___Reading
___Mail Roo
___Teletype
___Code Room, 4642
___Mechanical, B-114
___Supply Room, B-118
___Tour Room, 5226

___Miss Lurz
___Miss McNally
___Miss Mathers
___Miss Carter
___Miss McFarland
___Miss Cosart

___See Me
___For your info

___Note & return
___For appropriate action

ENCLOSURE

Looks like Byler is squirming like an eel.

K.

L. B. Nichols
Room 5640, Ext. 691

RECORDED - 89

330

~~ENCLOSURE~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89

C
O
P
Y

ELMO ROPER
30 Rockefeller Plaza - New York 20, N.Y.

January 11, 1956

The Honorable Francis Walter
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Walter:

I was very glad of the opportunity to meet you last week and grateful to our mutual friend, Irving Ferman, for having suggested it.

I was particularly glad if I was able to clear up the meaning of the sentence in the annual report which created a misconception. You can be assured by me that insofar as the Board of Directors are concerned--and that includes Robert Hutchins--the sentence on page 11 of the May 31, 1955, annual report which reads, "A political party in this country has been identified with the 'enemy'" could just as well have read--in order to express our true feelings--"A political party in this country (the Communist party) has been identified--and very properly identified--with the enemy."

When the rest of that paragraph and the following one is read with that understanding, it certainly comes out at a different point, doesn't it?

Will you be in New York anytime before your trip to Australia? If so, I should like to have a few colleagues of mine on the Fund to dinner with you. After all, your objective is to keep America strong, and that's our objective. There are enough honest differences of opinion as to how this might be done without complicating the situation still further by misunderstanding of objectives.

Sincerely yours,

Elmo Roper

E.R: bf

Blind copies to Mr. Irving Ferman
Mr. Bethuel Webster
Mr. Robert Hutchins.

330

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: January 10, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST JANUARY 10, 1956

Regarding the Fund, Lewis stated that Dr. Robert M. Hutchins had been re-elected as President of the Fund for the Republic early in November, but it had been decided to keep his election a secret until now because Hutchins had been under fire for his management and the Fund Directors did not want to have to answer for him. Immediately after his re-election, Lewis explained, Hutchins held his now famous news conference which netted him considerable unfavorable publicity because of his evasiveness, and added that Hutchins at his news conference could have told reporters of his re-election if he had wanted to be frank. He said the whole business was odd behavior for a group like the Fund for the Republic and pointed out that obviously Fund officials were afraid the public would disapprove of Hutchins being renamed to his post. Continuing, Lewis described the Fund as operating in "craven secrecy" in withholding vital information from the public.

In conclusion, Lewis commented that the American public would be interested in knowing just who the Directors of the Fund for the Republic are, and he proceeded to list them. There were no additional pertinent comments.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 31 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

INDEXED

JAN 30 1956

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

HPL:mbk:sak
(8)

LIAISON

INITIALS OF PERSON MAKING

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: January 11, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-24-89 BY

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Clayton
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.,
7:00 P.M. BROADCAST
January 11, 1956

Mr. Lewis stated that the District of Columbia Bar Association at a general membership meeting held in Washington, D. C. last night took up the proposed $25,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic for study of immigration laws and procedure but found that under present structure it could not accept the grant directly.

Mrs. Catherine Casey, (Phonetic) described by Lewis as a prominent member of the Bar Association, objected to the project on the basis the Fund was slanted and biased and follows up its grant by interference in the affairs of the grantee.

By voting, a resolution was introduced and amended which specifically prohibits accepting any grant or gift if the doner retains any influence directly or indirectly over the selection of the staff or affairs of the Bar Association.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

INDEXED - 12

100-391697-332
NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 31 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

ELJ:mbk
(8)

JAN 30 1956

COMMENTS ON ORIGINAL

LIAISON

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: January 16, 1956

FROM: SAC, Albany (65-1240)

SUBJECT: CLINTON ROSSITER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau are newspaper clippings which appeared in the Ithaca Journal, Ithaca, New York, on January 7, 1956, concerning CLINTON ROSSITER and his work with the Fund for the Republic.

CC: 2 - Bureau (Encls.3)(RM)
1 - Albany (65-1240)
JDJ:bar
(3)

What a lot of buncombe!

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-4-89 BY

INDEXED-68
RECORDED-68

100-391697-333

100-391697

16 JAN 31 1956

EX.-107

50 FEB 1 1956

Professor's Key Aides

The authors and their projected books in the study of Communist influence in American life are as follows:

"Communism in the Labor Movement" by Daniel Bell, labor editor of Fortune magazine and lecturer in sociology at Columbia University.

"Communism and Religion" by Ralph L. Roy, an ordained Methodist minister and author of "Apostles of Discord," 1953.

"Communism in Government" by Earl Latham, professor of political science at Amherst College.

"Communism and Education" by Robert Iversen, assistant professor of history at Drake University.

"Communism and the Arts" by Donald D. Egbert, professor of art and archaeology at Princeton University.

"Communism and Literature" by Daniel Aaron, professor of English and director of the American Studies Program, Smith College.

"Communism and the Mass Media" by Moshe Decter, former political analyst for the Voice of America and co-author of "McCarthy and the Communists," 1954.

"Communism and the Social Structure," Nathan Glazer, former editor of Anchor Books for Doubleday and Company and Walgreen lecturer at the University of Chicago, and associate with David Riesman in writing "The Lonely Crowd," 1949.

"Communism and Opinion-Making Groups" edited by John P. Roche, associate professor of government, Haverford College.

"A History of the Communist Party in the United States, 1919-1945" by Theodore Draper, historian of the 84th Infantry Division and former assistant to the Reporter magazine publisher and editor, Max Ascoli.

"Communism and Anti-Communism, 1945-1956" by David Shannon, associate professor of history at Teachers College, Columbia University.

—Journal Staff Photo

FROM HIS OFFICE in Boardman Hall, Prof. Clinton Rossiter directs a Fund for the Republic study of Communism.

(8)

[illegible] 17-33

e influence of Communism (and
lere necesary Marxism) in each
11 separate fields.

* * *

Rossiter coordinates the projet
om his own office in Boardman
all. In addition, he keeps an of-
e at 255 W. 108th St. in New
ork City. It serves as a "home"
r four members of the project
ho have no other offices, and as
place for the staff which consists
a staff director on a half-time
sis and two young women who
mbine research and secretarial
ities. The New York office is also
depository for documents, letters,
tes, periodicals, books and mi-
ofilms. One of the valuable by-
oducts of the study, Rossiter
ted, will be a "unique library of
aterials on American Commu-
sm."

Everything is paid for out of a
00,000 grant from the Fund for
e Republic, which was set up by
e Ford Foundation.

"I budget the money, and the
easurer of the fund handles it
mply because I don't want to be
thered by that chore, Rossiter
id.

* * *

Each scholar in the project is
corded the fullest possible free-
m and support, Rossiter ob-
rved. "By 'freedom' I mean that
works without pressure or di-
ction or control from me, that
proceeds on his own course,
at he hires such researchers or
sistants as he finds necessary,
d that he alone will reap the ac-
aim, criticism, and slander that
ll inevitably greet his book. By
pport' I mean that he has been
structed to leave no problem un-
nsidered and no source untapped
cause it might prove costly in
ne or money. It has been my
eady purpose to give each schol-
all necessary funds for research
sistance, stenography, materials
d travel. In addition, each re-
ives a salary for time actually
ent on the project as well as a
e."

The scholars and the editor have
riodic conferences to exchange
formation, opinions, advice,
owledge of documentary courses,
d other mutually helpful ideas.

* * *

At the outset of the project, Ros-
ter was free to choose such
people as he wanted to work with
him.

For six months Rossiter was en-
gaged on his "talent hunt." Look-
ing back over that period, he re-
members that these considerations
or qualifications were uppermost
in his mind:

1. That he be a scholar in the
very finest sense of the word.

2. That he be a person of
demonstrated ability, integrity,
maturity and self-reliance.

3. That he be a person of wide
knowledge and understanding in
the field in which he would be
working.

4. That he be acquainted with
the literature of Marxism and
Communism and with the main
lines of development in Ameri-
can Communism.

5. That he be a political mod-
erate, a person clearly not given
to the intellectual and rhetorical
sins of extremism.

6. That he be unscarred, al-
though not unmoved and untu-
torted, by any brushes he may
have had with Communism.

7. And that he be, for reasons
too numerous to mention, a per-
son in Rossiter's own generation.

* * *

It was not easy to find American
scholars who qualified and at the
same time had a profound and ex-
tensive knowledge of Communism
—a revealing fact in itself, Ros-
siter pointed out. Each of the
men he chose met all these qualifi-
cations with something to spare,
with the exception of point four.
And those not already experts
"are rapidly becoming so."

In dealing with his scholars, Ros-
siter works in as many ways as
there are men. "Some are gregar-
ious, some are reserver, and so on,
and I play by ear," he remarked.

* * *

The Cornell tradition of freedom
and responsibility comes to mind
in Rossiter's relation to the study.
He said: "Since I enjoy true
freedom—freedom to direct the
study as I see fit and freedom to
come up with any conclusions,
however painful they may be—I
felt that, in the tradition of sound
scholarship, responsibility went
with it.

"At the beginning I described the
project to the Cornell authorities,
talking to my department chair-
man, Prof. Mario Einaudi, to Dean
Paul M. O'Leary of the College
of Arts and Sciences, and to Pres-
ident Malott. And I keep the Fund
informed of major steps and tick-
lish situations."

Each book in the study will be
published as it appears. All are
hoped for before Jan. 1, 1959. The
project will "very likely be topped
off" by a final book summing up
the results of the other 11 volumes.

The Fund's "Bibliography on the
Communist Program in the United
States" which aroused a contro-
versy in the national press and
radio several months ago has no
connection with Rossiter's project.
He served on the committee for
the bibliography with the Rev.
Joseph M. Snee of the Society of
Jesus and Arthur E. Sutherland
of Harvard, former professor of
law at Cornell, who was committee
chairman.

"I have taken over responsibil-
ity for a revision," he said, "not
in response to misdirected and ir-
responsible criticism but because
we were going to do it anyway, di-
rectly as an aid to our project. The
most trenchant criticisms came
from my colleagues on the Fund
study. The bibliography's defici-
encies are very minor compared
with the general excellence of the
work."

* * *

At the Fund for the Republic, of-
ficials have a phrase to summar-
ize their attitude toward the re-
search done by men working with
Fund grants. It's "feel free." Feel
free, that is, to pursue a subject
in the way one thinks is the best.

Rossiter thinks that's a good
way to put the attitude toward the
freedom given him to study Com-
munism. He "feels free" and he
lets those preparing the 11 books
"feel free," as well.

Free to follow their years of
training as scholarly detectives
and free to follow their consciences.

2 100-391697-32

ENCLOSURE

Prof. Rossiter Feels Free in Study of Reds

By ELIZABETH ROGERS

"My first contact with the Fund r the Republic came when Clifrd Case was president in 1953," linton Rossiter, professor of government at Cornell, told The Journl recently.

"I was one of five simply asked sit down, at Princeton and later Harvard, to think of various eas in American ideals and initutions not adequately treated books. In other words—what oks ought to be done to illumine the American way of life." s book, "Seedtime of the Republ," had appeared earlier that ar.

Rossiter was telling the story in s office in old Boardman Hall, a om with a high domed ceiling d lined with books, cartoons and ctures clipped from papers and agazines, and a few crayon drawgs by young son David.

"They got to know who I was that time," he continued.

Early in the spring of 1954 while ossiter was on sabbatical leave New York City working on his ok, "Conservatism in America," se called on him "in a sort of formal capacity" to discuss the ok project. Then Case left the nd and Rossiter went to Eupe.

One day in August, 1954, Rossiter t a telephone call at his home, Hanshaw Rd. It was from New rk, asking him to come down xt day and talk with the new nd president, Robert M. Hutchs, about possible directors of a rvey of Communist influence in United States.

Rossiter had other irons in the e and wasn't too interested, but cided he ought to go anyway d he went down to New rk. The merits of this man and t man were discussed. His own me did not come up.

A few days later another call me from New York, this time ing Rossiter whether he would willing to direct the study. "I eed, on the basis that I would the director with full freedom that all major decisions would mine."

* * *

When he felt that invaluable inmation on communism could be hered from the man who was years the head of the party in country, Rossiter politely and tfully informed fund officials he others were going to interview l Browder. The old man is liv in Yonkers. "Go ahead—it's r own business" was the fund's ly.

"Browder is only one of scores of former Communists—both repentant and unrepentant—to whom we will talk in the course of these studies," Rossiter told The Journal. "We are not seeking espionage secrets at all, nor are we in any sense competing with any legally constituted public authority, especially the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee presided over by Senator Eastland. We are scholars plying our trade, just as journalists or Senate investigators ply their trades, in the only way we know how—by following every source as far back as we can trace it and interpreting the materials we gather as objectively as possible."

Browder needed a fee for his services. So Rossiter made arrangements to meet this need, to be stretched over 12 months not necessarily consecutively. Browder has talked to various members of the project for many hours, especially Daniel Bell, labor editor of Fortune and lecturer in sociology at Columbia (and his assistant William Goldsmith) and Theodore Draper, historian of the 84th Infantry Division and former assistant to the Reporter magazine publisher and editor, Max Ascoli.

"For most of these interviews, Browder has done considerable 'homework' in response to specific questions submitted in advance," Rossiter observed.

Bell is doing the book on "Communism in the Labor Movement" and Draper is writing "A History of the Communist Party in the United States, 1919-1945."

* * *

In simplest terms, the project seeks thoughtful and documented answers to these three questions posed by Rossiter as editor:

1. What was the extent of Communist penetration into American society, institutions and ideals?

2. What is the extent of real or potential penetration today?

3. What permanent effect did Communism, as distinguished from efforts to root out Communism, have on American life?

"None of us has any illusions about the 'definitive' nature of any or all these studies," Rossiter emphasized. "We are by trade scholars, and no scholar would ever use the word 'definitive' in such an area or undertaking as this. There can be no final, generally accepted answer to a question like 'How far did Communism penetrate into American life?' but there can be an answer far more objective, thoughtful, carefully documented, and therefore accurate than any that has hitherto been given."

Rossiter told The Journal that his own motives in undertaking this survey are clear.

"It is an exciting and challenging problem for a scholar in American thought and institutions and it is a unique opportunity for public service," stated. "On one hand, we hope to expand the boundaries of present knowledge of the structure and functioning, triumphs and failures, strengths and weaknesses of American civilization; on the other, we hope to reduce sharply some of the notorious confusion about the influence of Communism that now plagues public policy, political debate and intellectual purpose in this country."

The study will illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of this country, Rossiter believes. "We will learn a lot about America," he commented, "if we find out why Communism failed as a mass movement."

Instead of setting up an elaborate research organization, Rossiter commissioned one scholar to write a book—according to his methods and in his good time—evaluating

Ithaca Journal
Ithaca, N. Y.

1/7/56

100-3716 17-32

ENCLOSURE

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 1-25-56

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-31059)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

Re Milwaukee letter to Chicago dated December 28, 1955, captioned "YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, INTERNAL SECURITY - ISL".

For the information of the Bureau, referenced letter sets forth the following information concerning MICHAEL HARRINGTON, National Chairman of the Young Socialist League (YSL) who toured the East and Midwest in November, 1955, on a speaking tour for the YSL:

Wisc.

2 - Bureau (RM)
4 - New York
1 - 100- (MIKE HARRINGTON) (RM)
1 - 100- (FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC) (RM)
1 - 100-80693 (YSL) (RM)
1 - 100-126432 (YSL) (RM)
1 - Milwaukee (100-1199 YSL) (Info) (RM)
2 - Chicago (100-18099 YSL)
CAA:amk
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

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100-391577-334

31 JAN 31 1956

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Confidential

LIMITED

DIRECTOR, FBI Re: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

"The Daily Cardinal", University of Wisconsin student newspaper, at Madison, Wisconsin, in its issue of November 15, 1955, carried an article stating that the Wisconsin Liberals Club, a University organization, had a meeting on November 14, 1955, at which time that organization refused in anyway to become connected with the activities of the LYL. The same article stated in its last paragraph that MICHAEL HARRINGTON, President of the Young Socialist League (league spelled with a small "L"), would speak at the University on Saturday, November 26, 1955, under the auspices of the Wisconsin Liberals Club.

The November 22, 1955, issue of "The Daily Cardinal" carried an item stating that MICHAEL HARRINGTON would speak on "Co-Existence and Peace" on Saturday, November 26, 1955, at the John Muir Room of the University YMCA at 7:30 P.M. The article stated "HARRINGTON is a research assistant for the Fund For The Republic and is a frequent contributor to 'Commonweal Dissent and Partisan Review Magazine'".

different levels of technical knowledge, all came to conclusions quite similar to Murray's own that these weapons represent a danger of unprecedented magnitude to the survival of mankind—and that until an effective system of international control is established it would be folly to open the U.S. to thermonuclear attack by not being better armed in this respect than the Communists.

PHILANTHROPY

Displaced Person

"The Fund for the Republic," says Fund President Robert Maynard Hutchins, "is a kind of fund for the American Dream. The essence of the dream is and always has been freedom.' The Fund for the Republic, said American Legion National Commander J. Addington Wagner last week, "is giving comfort to the enemies of America . . . We are convinced that the fund is doing evil work.' Neither Hutchins nor Wagner stands alone in his opinion, Hutchins has the cheers of many citizens who fear that the U.S. is seeking security at the cost of civil liberty; Wagner speaks for those who fear that security is being subverted by a version of liberty that amounts to license. Upon the Fund for the Republic has thus descended an ugly, name-calling dispute.

The fund was established three years ago by the Ford Foundation as an independent unit. It was given $15 million and told to spend it in support of "activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the U.S., and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights." The great bulk of money spent so far has been on projects that come clearly within the fund's directive. Among these was the $64,000 study by Washington Lawyer Adam Yarmolinsky (TIME, Aug. 29) that, in its presentation of some shocking examples of the federal personnel security program in action, would justify the existence of the fund. Other projects include $400,000 to the Southern Regional Council for offices in twelve states to further "community education in intergroup relations", $300 000 for a survey by Cornell University's Clinton Rossiter (author of *Conservatism in America*) on Communist influence on U.S. religion Government, education, arts and mass media; $185,000 for a study by Harvard's Samuel A. Stouffer of popular attitudes toward internal Communism and civil liberties.

Personal Tendency. By the nature of its mission, the fund was bound to be attacked, and its success or failure was bound to depend on the ability of its spokesmen to meet the attacks. Hutchins has absorbed nearly all of the public-relations function, and Hutchins is so brilliant a controversialist that he sometimes seems to be looking for fights in which to display his debater's skill.

He has built this personal tendency into his own definition of the fund, pronouncing that its job is "to arouse an interest in civil liberties and to encourage debate about them.'

Even without the fund's encouragement the postwar U.S. has resounded with debate on civil liberties. The need is not for more debate but for debate of better quality, and, above all, for some answers to the very difficult questions raised by the presence of Communism and other forms of organized evil in a free society. The factual Yarmolinsky report, for example made it clear how far the U.S. Government still is from working out standards and procedures that will at the same time protect itself from subversion and its employees from persecution.

In his attempt to dramatize his views

Arthur Siegel

FUND PRESIDENT HUTCHINS
A ponderous pixie.

on civil liberties, Hutchins has gone to some odd lengths. For instance, the Quakers of the Plymouth Meeting Pa. library, a private institution, decided not to fire a librarian because she, pleading the Fifth Amendment, had refused to say whether she had been a Communist. Many Americans who consider themselves both anti-Communist and anti-persecution would have let the Quakers' action go without applause or blame. But the Fund for the Republic charged in with a $5 000 award to the library.

One Man's Position. More recently the fund itself hired as a public-relations man, one Amos Landman who had taken the Fifth Amendment rather than say whether he had been a Communist. Hutchins, defending the action, was not content to rest on his own confidence in Landman's loyalty. Typically, he generalized his defense by saying that he would not hesitate to hire a Communist (he did not say former Communist) as long as the man was qualified for the job, and "I was in a position to see that he did it."

Such superb self-confidence is almost out of this world. And so, indeed is Robert Maynard Hutchins. Not long ago, with his air of a ponderous pixie he labeled himself "an 18th century conservative." He is certainly no more Communist-minded than John Adams or Edmund Burke. But neither one of them, intent on the actual problems of the day, could imaginably have labeled himself a 16th century conservative Most recent attacks on the Fund for the Republic are nonsense. The others which may keep the fund in the headlines have to do with the personality of Robert Hutchins scholar and debater, and, by his own choice, a displaced person.

CRIME

The Christmas Present

The young man was very attentive to his mother. He lugged her heavy suitcases to the counter at Denver's Stapleton Airfield and stood by while she checked in on United Air Lines Flight 629 bound for Portland, Ore. The three bags a bulky battered suitcase secured by two web straps, a briefcase and a smaller suitcase weighed 87 lbs.—37 lbs. over the limit allowed each passenger. When the ticket agent told her she would have to pay $27 for the excess baggage the mother Mrs. Daisie King turned to her son and said, "Thirty-seven lbs —do you think I'll need all this?" Replied the son Jack Graham "Yes Mother I'm sure you will need it.' Mrs. King was going to Alaska to visit her married daughter, and she would need a lot of warm clothes. For a moment she seemed half disposed to unpack then and there, and leave some of the excess baggage behind but she finally took her son's advice. "I've packed enough stuff to last me a year" she sighed as she paid the fee.

Delay in Take-Off. According to Gloria Graham Jack's wife, Mrs. King then turned to her son and handed him $3.50 instructing him to get three air-travel insurance policies on her life—one for Jack, one for his half-sister in Alaska, and one for his mother's sister in Missouri. When Flight 629 arrived from Chicago ten minutes later, Mrs. King said goodbye to the Grahams and their 22-month-old son Allen kissed them affectionately and boarded the plane. The take-off was delayed another 12 minutes while the plane waited for a late passenger.

The Grahams went to the airport coffee shop for dinner. Jack Graham was quite fidgety—he had been feeling queasy all day—and in the midst of the meal he became nauseated. After a trip to the men's room, he felt a lot better. Later as they were leaving the restaurant, the Grahams overheard someone saying that a plane had crashed. Unable to get any detailed information at the airport, they drove home. The radio confirmed their apprehensions Flight 629 had crashed 32 miles north of Denver. Mrs. King and all 43 others aboard the DC-6B were dead. "We finally heard his mother's name on the radio," Gloria reported, "and Jack just collapsed completely."

Mr. Nichols

DATE: January 24, 1956

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
JANUARY 24, 1956

On his broadcast, Lewis mentioned that the Special Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee under Senator Price Daniels of Texas had filed a report concerning narcotics matters One proposal was the death penalty for most serious cases and when recommended by a jury. He then noted that a huge narcotics investigation was conducted by Federal narcotics agents in the Boston area beginning in September, 1954. This investigation resulted in 25 Federal indictments involving over 27 defendants The first case came to trial in mid-December, 1955, with the prosecution handled by Assistant United States Attorney William Koen. This involved defendants Wiley David, ringleader; Nicholas Gregory; Guy Rindini; Charles Robinson, and Eugene Finn (all phonetic). The Federal Judge in the case was Charles E. Wyzanski. He noted that Wyzanski was appointed to the Federal bench in 1941 by President Roosevelt at recommendation of then Attorney General Francis Biddle; that he was formerly Solicitor of Labor Department; Chairman of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University; a trustee of Phillip Exeter Academy, and one of 12 members of the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation.

Lewis said all 5 defendants pled guilty in the trial beginning December 19, 1955, and AUSA Koen recommended 10 years for the ringleader, 5 years for one partner, 3 years for 2 others, and 2 years for Finn who cooperated with the Government. Lewis then read the statement of Judge Wyzansky to the defense attorney for the ringleader David which is as follows:

"I think I might say just generally that you needn't address yourself to me on the assumption that I shall follow the harsh recommendations which go far beyond anything I have ever imposed in any kind of case. While I in no sense look upon this as a trivial offense, it is to me exactly like a bootlegging case except it happens to be in drugs instead of in liquor and I have no more moral view with respect to drugs than with respect to liquor. I am required to follow an act of Congress and that act of Congress I intend to follow but I don't think that you need suppose that I have a particular animus with respect to the topic."

Later considering the long criminal record and this dope peddling charge of suspect Gregory, Judge Wyzansky said, "Well, there are other things

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)
LJH:rcw
(7)

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188 JAN 26 1956

that are in his record--burglary, entering, various kinds of sex offenses, apparently this is the least foremost of his record.

The minimum sentence in this case was 2 years and $2.00 fine. Judge Wyzansky gave the ringleader 3 years and $3.00 fine and the minimum sentence to each of the other defendants. Lewis wondered whether these statements and actions were fitting a man of Judge Wyzansky's present position.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Mr. Nichols

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

January 23, 1956

Mr. A. H. Jones

[illegible]
1/23/56

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY 2038 [illegible]

On this date, Fulton Lewis, Jr., aired the entire time of his program on a discussion of possible presidential candidates of the Republican Party.

He first discussed Senator Knowland of California whose name has recently been entered in two preferential primaries. Lewis stated that some of Eisenhower's closest advisors, including Paul Hoffman, are trying to influence President Eisenhower not to endorse either Knowland or Vice President Nixon as his choice if he, Eisenhower, does not choose to accept the nomination. Lewis stated that Hoffman and his "crowd" have lost no love for either Nixon or Knowland.

Lewis then went into reasons why Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey would never receive the Republican nomination. He stated these reasons were: (1) The "record" of Senator Case's sister. (2) Case's record while in the House of Representatives. (3) Lewis stated that if these two reasons do not "really knock Case out" as a possible presidential nominee of the Republican Party, then the fact that he had been President of The Fund for the Republic for a few months in the past would do so. (It is noted that the Congressional Directory of January, 1956, reflects that Case was President of The Fund for the Republic from August, 1953, to March, 1954).

The above reference to The Fund for the Republic was the only mention of this organization made by Lewis in his broadcast on this date.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Fund for the Republic, File 100-[illegible]

100 - [illegible]
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141 JAN 27 1956

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(8)

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

January 20, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

A. H. BELMONT

PAUL LEONARD JACOBS
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

Classified by 2D8D73 ab
Declassify on: OADR 8-4-89

SYNOPSIS:

Bufiles reviewed on captioned individual pursuant to Director's request as noted on Victor Riesel's column dated 1-13-56. Jacobs is a California labor union consultant, an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Board member, and a California assistant on FFR survey of blacklisting in entertainment industry. Riesel criticized Army security system for disloyalty charge against associate of Jacobs, whom he described as anti-Communist. Riesel indicated security investigations should be left to FBI. Security Matter - C investigation of Jacobs in 1953 reflects he admitted activity in Young Communist League (YCL), cited by the Attorney General, in 1933-1936, but that he was expelled for Trotskyite activities. While Jacobs admitted being a Trotskyite for about a year (1934), he reportedly attempted to recruit individual into Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1937 and was a member of group sponsored by the SWP as late as July, 1943. While opposed to the Communist Party (CP), the SWP (cited by Attorney General) is a revolutionary Marxist party based upon the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky rather than Joseph Stalin. The SWP has followed a policy of defending the civil liberties of CP members, but not the CP political program. He subscribed to the "Daily People's World," west coast Communist newspaper (1946), and the "New International," official organ of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), (1952), cited by Attorney General. At forum in March, 1951, Jacobs stated only way to combat Communist infiltration was to be vigilant, work hard, and study how and where Communists operate. In speech on March 16, 1953, he criticized FBI investigations and use of wire tapping; complained that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949, had not been afforded his constitutional rights when returned from Mexico; told those filling out loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited groups, and criticized House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) investigations for depriving private citizens of employment. Summary on Jacobs was sent to Attorney General on 2-21-55 after his appointment on FFR survey. Jacobs contacted former Communists and reportedly indicated desire to be objective in FFR survey. He stated he intended to develop information against the CP. During this survey Jacobs sought the assistance of anti-Communist Motion Pictures Alliance (MPA). When the MPA demanded he first

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Enclosure (8)
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Young
Mr. Yellow (100-391697)
Section Ticklers
Mr. Roby
(100-401403)

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138 JAN 25 1956

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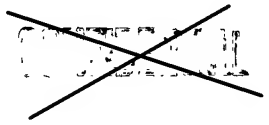
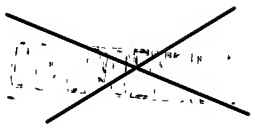


show evidence of his own anti-Communist feelings, Jacobs refused to do so. Hissel reported in mid, 1951, that years ago Al Levy, who works for him, and Jacobs were engaged in fighting Communists in labor movement. Hissel thought highly of Jacobs. He reported Jacobs was disgusted with [illegible], which hired an individual invoking Fifth Amendment without consulting him although he was supposed to serve as adviser on personnel hired.

PACO McGRATH:

For your information.



Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETAILS:

On a column of Victor Riesel's dated 1-13-56 the Director noted "What do our files show on Jacobs? H." Riesel criticized the Army security system for charing a newly inducted GI with disloyalty because of his association with Paul Jacobs whom Riesel described as an outstanding anti-Communist representative of labor organizations over the past years. According to Riesel, Jacobs was recently assigned by the FFR to see if there was Communist influence in Hollywood in the past decade. Riesel stated "This he did well -- objectively and non-partisanly-- as will be discovered if the Fund for the Republic ever makes it public." Riesel indicated that the business of security should be left to the FBI or those trained by the Bureau and stated that a few more loyalty cases like this one and the whole vital policy of a security screening system will be discredited.

Paul Leonard Jacobs, a CIO and AFL union consultant in California and an ACLU Board member, was the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation conducted in 1953. Results of that investigation were furnished to the Department of Justice in 1953 and to CIA, as a result of request for a name check, in April, 1955. In interviews by Special gents of the Bureau in August, 1949, and April, 1950, Jacobs admitted ctivities in the YCL in 1933-1934 until expelled for Trotskyite activities. e stated he was a Trotskyite for about a year and that he brought Susan B. nthony II, who later turned Communist, into the Socialist Party. In a igned statement, Anthony stated he had tried to recruit her into the SWP 1937. Investigation reflects that Jacobs was a subscriber to the aily People's World" in 1948 and "New International," official organ of e ISL, in 1952. In July, 1949, Jacobs was a member of the Southern lifornia James Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, an organization which s sponsored by the SWP. The YCL, SWP, and ISL have been designated by Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On March 20, 1951, Jacobs spoke at a public forum in which he d how Communists infiltrate and take over certain groups. He con- ded his talk by stating that the only way to combat Communist infiltra- was to be vigilant, work hard, and study how and where Communists ate. He said he had come to the conclusion there is no morality with nists. (LA-3289-S; 100-401403-3)

On March 14, 1953, Jacobs spoke at a conference on "democracy ducation" which was presented by the Vanguard Club of the University lifornia at Los Angeles. The Vanguard Club has been reported to be t-wing Socialist group" through which the Socialist Youth League (SYL) ted its members, and to be supported by the ISL. The SYL and the ISL een designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
e opposed to the CP, the SWP is a revolutionary Marxist party based he theories of Marx, Engels, & Lenin, as interpreted by Leon Trotsky than Joseph Stalin. The SWP has followed a policy of defending the liberties of CP members but not the CP political program.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Informants have advised that in the above-mentioned speech Jacobs: (1) Criticized FBI investigations stating, "They do their job of investigating but not very well" and that wire tapping by the FBI has grown tremendously; (2) Complained that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949 for violation of the Smith Act and a fugitive in Mexico, was not afforded his constitutional rights as he was literally dragged across the border rather than going through the legal process; (3) Advised those filling out Civil Service forms and loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited organizations and if any trouble resulted that they should contact the American Civil Liberties Union immediately; (4) Criticized investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warning that a citizen's refusal to answer questions concerning his past or present affiliation with the Communist Party always resulted in the loss of his job or reflected upon his securing of future employment; and (5) Stated that he could see no future for students unless they planned a well-organized demonstration of their feelings toward academic freedom and students' rights. (Panel Source, [redacted] 100-34527-92; 100-401403-3) b6 b7C b7D

(U)

By memorandum dated 2-21-55 a summary of information in Bufiles concerning Jacobs was furnished to the Attorney General with a copy for Deputy Attorney General Rogers. This summary was prepared as the result of the announcement that Jacobs would be the Hollywood, California, representative on the NFR-sponsored survey of blacklisting in the entertainment industry, which planned to look into the hiring and firing practices of the motion picture, radio, and television industries. (100-391697-67)

On March 15, 1955, a confidential source reported that in connection with the blacklisting survey, Jacobs, a former member of the SWP, had been in contact with Sylvia Richards, Martin Berkeley, and Dick Collins, former CP members who were cooperative witnesses before the HCUA. Richards expressed the belief that Jacobs was trying to be objective and had indicated that in his study he had learned that the Communists in the movie industry maintained their own black list whereby they discriminate against non-Communists. Jacobs indicated he intended to develop as much information against the CP as he could, but when asked by the*Motion Picture Alliance to show evidence of his anti-Communist feelings, he refused to do so. In May, 1955, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past reported that Jacobs impressed him as endeavoring to be objective in this survey and that he understood that Jacobs made a trip to Europe in which he attempted to interview certain past or present Hollywood Communists then in Europe. (Confidential Source, [redacted] and [redacted] 100-138753-1086, pg. 14) b6 b7C b7D

* - anti-Communist

In September and October, 1955, Riesel advised the Bureau concerning Jacobs' activities in the FER stating that Al Levy, who works for Riesel, had known Jacobs many years ago when Levy and Jacobs were engaged in fighting Communists in the labor movement. Riesel stated he thought highly of Jacobs and reported that Jacobs was becoming disgusted with the FER. He stated that Jacobs was supposed to serve as an advisor to the FER in screening any person hired, but that Jacobs knew nothing about the recent hiring by the FER of Amos Landman, who had invoked the Fifth Amendment, as a public relations director for one of its projects. Riesel reported that Jacobs was "up in arms" over this. (100-331697-166, 266)

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED ST NMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: January 20, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST ON JANUARY 20, 1956

Mr. Lewis made very brief mention of the Fund For The Republic in his broadcast this evening in connection with a discussion of a forthcoming "See It Now" program of Edward R. Murrow.

Lewis explained that next Thursday, January 26, 1956, Murrow would have as a topic for his "See It Now" program "The Farm Problem: The Crisis of Abundance." Lewis asserted that Murrow was up to his old "hatchet" activities, and that he desired to warn his listeners in advance concerning this program.

Lewis quoted from a column written by Glenn Marsh (ph) in which Marsh severely attacked Murrow's approach toward the farm problem. The program centers around the farm activities in the area of Corning (ph), Iowa, and depicts the "woes" of the farming population. According to the editor's column, Murrow's picture is highly exaggerated and is an indirect attack against the Secretary of Agriculture, Benson.

At the conclusion of the program, Lewis asserted that he supposed the Fund For The Republic would circulate this Murrow film as it has done previous films of this individual.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-6-79 BY

c-Mr. Nichols
c-Mr. Boardman
c-Mr. Belmont
c-Fund For The Republic File (100-391697)

FCS:sak
(7)

JAN 24 1956

LIAISON

NOT RECORDED
161 JAN 24 1956

ORIGINAL FILED IN

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

Orig & dupl
1 - yellow
1 - DAG Rogers
1 - AAG Tompkins
1 - Mr. Nichols

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

January 30, 1956

1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. P.C. Young
1 - Mr.W.C. Sullivan
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Dougherty

DIRECTOR, FBI

KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN

detached...

Current press reports reflect that the captioned individual has been named as the theatrical expert on a panel designated by the Fund for the Republic to select dramas and documentaries appearing on television during the current season for awards totaling $55,000. Others named to the panel include Robert Taft, Jr., and Philip H. Willkie.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed memorandum which reflects information in our files concerning Kermit Bloomgarden.

Enclosures (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General
(With enclosure)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins
(With enclosure)

PFD:fjb
(13)

Cover memo Belmont - Boardman
1-27-56 PFD:fjb captioned
as above.

RECORDED

100-391647-335

INDEXED - 20

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAILED 20

Orig & dupl - AG
1 - DAG Rogers
1 - AAG Tompkins.
1 - yellow
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
January 30, 1956
1 - Mr. P.C. Young
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Dougherty

detached.....

KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN

The column of Victor Riesel in the "New York Mirror" for January 23, 1956, reflects that Kermit Bloomgarden has been named to a panel by the Fund for the Republic. The panel is to select the "best network drama," the "best network documentary," and the "best production of either type by an independent station" produced on commercial television between October 1, 1955, and May 31, 1956. A total of $55,000 will be awarded to its selections. Riesel described Bloomgarden as the theatrical expert on the panel and stated that Bloomgarden was a sponsor for the 1949 Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace and was affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Kermit Bloomgarden has not been the subject of investigation by the FBI. However, our files reflect the following references of interest.

Kermit Bloomgarden was described in 1952 by an admitted member of the Communist Political Association (CPA) and the Communist Party from 1944 to 1947 as a member of a CPA branch in New York City in 1944-1945. Bloomgarden, at the time of his alleged membership, was a manager for a stage company and in 1952 was a Broadway producer. Bloomgarden's wife, the actress Virginia Kay (or Kaye), was also in the CPA but they were believed to have dropped out of the Party after the Communist Party was re-established. Neither could be recalled as active when the former CPA branch was re-established as a Communist Party unit. (100-138754-1608 page 4: [redacted] keep confidential, wife of [redacted] former [redacted] (100-350212-664) 100-390719-4 Ep 12)

b6
b7C
b7D

An undated letterhead of the Artists' Front to Win the War (AFWW), formed in September, 1942, listed Kermit Bloomgarden,

P.F. Dougherty:fjb
(13)

Cover memo Belmont - Boardman 1-27-56 and cover letter to Attorney General 1-30-56 PFD:fjb same caption

335

not otherwise described, as the AFWW Treasurer. "Kermit Bloomgarden, 100 Central Park South, New York City" was listed as a reference on the application for lease for office space in behalf of AFWW at 11 West 42nd Street, New York City, on September 16, 1942. The AFWW was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (100-153338-4 p 6)

The "Daily Worker," an east coast Communist newspaper, September 17, 1943, included Kermit Bloomgarden among sponsors of a special theater meeting in New York City to honor Itzik Feffer, Soviet author and poet, and Solomon Michoels, Soviet actor-director, then visiting the United States. (100-25072A)

Appearing on the list of indituiduals who supported the National Citizens Political Action Committee of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (ICCASP) in previous years who should be approached for substantial contributions to the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA) in 1947 was the item "Kermit Bloomgarden, 1535 Bway." In September, 1947, Kermit Bloomgarden was reported as a member of the Board of Directors of PCA. At the same time he was reported to be Treasurer of the New York State Chapter of PCA. The ICCASP was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the PCA "as a 'new and broader Communist front for the entire United States' formed in 1946 at the direction of 'Communist steering committees' from the 'Communist-dominated National Citizens Political Action Committee' and the ICCASP." (Anon.; source not shown; 100-338892-205 pp 8-27)

In connection with the issuance of subpoenas to members of the Board of the Actors' Laboratory (AL) by the California Committee on Un-American Activities early in 1948, Kermit Bloomgarden was listed as one of the signers of a telegram protesting the subpoenas as the first attack on the free uncensured legitimate theater in this country. AL was described as a "Communist venture" by the California Committee. (100-138754-407 p. 31)

Bloomgarden was named as a Communist or Communist Party sympathizer who was reportedly nominated for office in the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (NCASP) in New York City on September 20, 1948. The position to which nominated and the results of the election, if any, do not appear in our files. The NCASP was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. [redacted] 2-23-49, unknown reliability; 61-7582-2840 p. 4) b6 b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(100-15252-39 p. 240)

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] (Tesure on (office) of
~~b6~~ known reliability; 100-57435-33 p. 126)

(Anon.; ETT; 100-57453-295 pp. 84-117)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Kermit Bloomgarden, not otherwise described, was included among a list of signers of a cable addressed to the Moscow (USSR) Art Theater on October 26, 1948, saluting the theater on its fiftieth anniversary. (NYT 474; 100-3-3009-p107) (U)

The "Call to the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace" to be held March 25-27, 1949, at the Waldorf Hotel, New York City, under the auspices of the NCASP, listed Kermit Bloomgarden, not otherwise described, as a sponsor. His sponsorship was similarly reflected on a printed letterhead and the final program of the conference. The conference was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which reported the conference "was actually a super mobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations." (100-356137-25,432)

An indivtdual active in the labor movement in New York City has expressed the following opinions which relate to Kermit Bloomgarden and which have not been confirmed by independent investigation: The stage play "Death of a Salesman" was dominated by the pro-Communist group in the theater; the play's author had the reputation of being a Communist sympathizer; Bloomgarden, producer of the play, was considered a close associate of many reputed pro-Communists in the theatrical field and "invariably" cast the pro-Communist cliques in the theater in the plays produced by him; that this was true of "Death of a Salesman." [redacted] member of Theatrical Protective Union No. 1, ITASE, 8-21-50; 100-353390-227, p.3; 100-138754-681 pp 22,26,28) b6 b7C

Mrs. Jean Dillow, a theatrical figure, Greenwich, Connecticut, was interviewed in 1951 pursuant to a request of the Department to conduct investigation with reference to the possible perjury by John Garfield, late movie actor, in connection with his denial of Communist Party membership and other matters before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on April 23, 1951. Mrs. Dillow stated that John Garfield in 1939 had described Kermit Bloomgarden of New York City as an old friend. Bloomgarden, when interviewed in 1951, stated that he produced plays in 1938 and 1940 in which John Garfield was featured; that he had seen Garfield only about twelve times in the preceding ten years; that he did not know whether Garfield had ever been a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League; and that he heard no statements by Garfield indicating sympathy or dislike for the Communist Party. Interviews conducted during the course of the requested investigation reflected that on numerous occasions Garfield had expressed sentiments sympathetic to the Communist movement. However, prior to his sudden death on May 21, 1952, the investigation was still pending and no prosecution had been instituted. (100-325707-154 pp 1,5,39)

0-19 (11-22-55)

Tolson
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Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

Why Pick an Expert With Leftist Tendencies?

By VICTOR RIESEL

Not once in all the years I've trod my way along Manhattan's jungle paths from Lindy's bagel and lox emporium to the newest champagne spots (with apologies, of course, to Walter W. and Lee Mortimer), have I ever observed a shortage of theatrical producers.

Now, apparently I have the Fund for the Republic to thank for a swift hint that the ranks of the theatrical adventurers are thinning.

Victor Riesel

THE FUND HAD need of just such a theatrical expert. Of all those available, it chose a fellow who has been tied up with several unpleasant pro-Soviet organizations which did much to smear the reputation of our government, here and abroad.

It seems that the Fund needed a theatrical producer to become one of "the jurors" for a series of awards, totaling $55,000. These jurors will sit for endless hours before their TV sets seeking out "those television programs dealing with American liberty and freedom as presented on commercial television between Oct. 1, 1955, and May 31, 1956."

For which, a real hurrah. The TV boys need the money. Not even a Paddy Chayefsky can long survive on what the occasional show brings. For the "best network drama," the Fund will award $20,000. For "the best network documentary," the Fund will give $20,000. For "the best production of either type by an independent station," the Fund will hand out $15,000. They'll be known as the Robert E. Sherwood Awards.

* * *

TO JUDGE ALL this, there are bankers, attorneys, a publisher, an author, the president of my old Alma Mater, and the bearers of two great names, Robert Taft, Jr., and Philip H. Willkie. For the most part, their familiarity with TV runs to painful jaunts out of the easy chair to whirl the station dials.

The real theatrical expert on the panel is Kermit Bloomgarden, a producer.

Now the Fund is entitled to select its own experts. Brother Bloomgarden is entitled to his associations. And we, the people, are entitled to gripe and ask questions of the quasi-public Fund for the Republic. Why Kermit Bloomgarden?

* * *

THIS CHAP DID lend his name as a sponsor to the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace run at the Waldorf-Astoria March 25, 26 and 27, 1949.

This conference was boycotted and picketed by many groups, mostly under the guidance of David Dubinsky and his friends.

I will not submit you to a recital of the score of the Communist affiliations of many of those who sponsored the conference. Let me merely tell you that the parley was hailed by the Moscow

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date JAN 23 1956

335

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. [illegible]

DATE: January [illegible] 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-80 BY [illegible]

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
7:00 P.M., JANUARY 25, 1956

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

During captioned broadcast, Lewis mentioned that a Senate Rules Committee approved a resolution on January 25, 1956, which posed trouble for one agency of the Government. This is a resolution to set up a joint watchdog committee to investigate and keep an eye on the operations and expenditures of CIA. According to Lewis, this move has been in the wind for a long time and probably should have been done long ago since there is no agency in Federal Government from which so much suspicious smoke has been curling for several years as this one. He stated that the basic setup of CIA is not a healthy one and its very nature invites trouble that good government should avoid.

Lewis stated that, from the time CIA was first set up at the end of World War II, there have been constant clues of an unhappy nature about it and constant charges that it is not going as it should. Suggestions for investigation of CIA are usually met with the argument that such an investigation would expose CIA's operations, agents, informants, and expenditures. Lewis feels it is not good business to have a public agency on which there is no check at all, not even a financial audit or a check on projects for which it spends its money. He quoted Senator Jenner as saying that Congress doesn't even know how much money it gives CIA.

Lewis reported that he learned in the Far East that CIA was spending all sorts of money there for purported covers for intelligence activities and many of these did not have a savory reputation. CIA, according to Lewis, is reportedly financing Radio Free Europe. Lewis stated that last Sunday he was confidentially advised by a foreign political expert who recently arrived in the United States for his own intelligence purposes that Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Czechoslovakia are the opposite of what they should be and that the Communist Radio Prague has been recording these broadcasts and rebroadcasting them as their own propaganda.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. P. C. Young, Room 7631

MAF:rm
(7)

100-391627

100-391627-[illegible]
NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 31 [illegible]
[illegible] 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN [illegible]

MAILROOM

According to Lewis, the White House is somewhat disturbed, and the President has just set up a special lay committee to make a study of CIA after several preliminary studies by individuals at the recommendation of the Hoover Commission. Lewis feels that the White House appointed committee will not amount to much since they seldom do and this one is under the chairmanship of James R. Killian, President of MIT, who, according to Lewis, has a record of statements that are soft toward Communism and subversion. Lewis added that he would not be surprised to see this committee get its juicy grant and perhaps some staffing from the Fund for the Republic. Lewis also made reference to the study of CIA made by General Mark Clark and the resulting report which was very critical of CIA.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

JRM

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 1, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

My memorandum 10/12/55 reflected that the FFR made a $5,000 grant to the Council on Communications Research, an affiliate of the Association for Education in Journalism, to conduct a study to determine without commitment the feasibility and practicability of a study of the performance of the American Press during the 1956 Presidential campaign. The study was proposed to the FFR by the National Committee on Ethics and News Objectivity of Sigma Delta Chi.

The Evening Star, Washington, D. C., 1/27/56 reflects that as a result of a poll of 76 editors and publishers, Sigmi Delta Chi, national journalistic fraternity, has scrapped plans for a study of American press performance during this year's political campaign.

Comments by various journalists include: Barry Bingham, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times — "I am impressed by...the plan.... It would furnish...objective standards...to measure their performance"; Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times — "...thought police for newspapers.... Would put almost any editor on defense, impair his judgment and destroy intuition"; Robert B. Choate, Boston Herald-Traveler — "...impractical."; James M. Cox, Jr., Cox Newspapers — "...press...unfairly charged with partisanship...by various leftwing spokesmen and (I) believe...study would be a propaganda sounding board..."; B. M. McKelway, Washington Evening Star — "...doubt...will work, except to create resentment and antagonism."; Turner Catledge, New York Times — "While...not too hopeful ...we are willing...to cooperate..."; John Cowles, Minneapolis Star and Tribune — "I am all for the project...the research men have considered the various phases of the problem."

ACTION:

None. For your information.

PFD:lmm
(4)

ENCLOSURE

100-391697

100-391697-336

FEB 3 1956

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Mr. Dougherty

RECORDED-20

FEB 10 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

TOLSON
INT SEC

0-19 (11-22-55)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Press Group Kills Plan For Study of Objectivity

NEW YORK, Jan. 27 (AP).—Sigma Delta Chi, national journalistic fraternity, has scrapped plans for a study of American press performance during this year's political campaign.

A poll of 76 editors and publishers, conducted by the fraternity's committee on ethics and news objectivity, brought a decision that such a study would have "no chance of reasonable success."

Abandonment of the project was announced last night by Norman E. Isaacs, chairman of the committee and managing editor of the Louisville Times.

Mr. Isaacs said the views of the editors and publishers "ran the complete range from violent opposition to the most enthusiastic kind of support."

There had been tentative plans to spend $650,000 on the study project which stemmed from criticism in some Democratic quarters that America had a "one-party press" favorable to the Republicans in the 1952 election campaign.

Mr. Isaacs said that of the 76 publishers and editors polled, 36 it without reservation, 9 backed opposed the study, 18 supported i tconditionally, 2 were noncommittal and 11 were not yet recorded.

The proposal called for an audit of the political news carried by as many as 250 newspapers. It asked research, through interviews with editors, into varied reasons why newspapers handled stories as they did. It also would have tested reader attitudes in various key cities.

Comments by members of the jury included:

Barry Bingham, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times—"I am impressed by the practicality of the plan. . . . It would furnish editors and publishers some objective standards by which to measure their performance. . . ."

Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times—"This is in effect an invitation to join an organization of thought police for newspapers. (The part) which proposes that editors explain. . . . Why they did thus and thus. . . . Would put almost any editor on defense, impair his judgment and destroy intuition. . . ."

Robert B. Choate, Boston Herald-Traveler—"Please record me as against the study proposal as impractical."

James M. Cox, jr., Cox Newspapers—"I feel that the press has been unfairly charged with partisanship in the news columns by various leftwing spokesmen and believe that a further study would be a propaganda sounding board from these quarters. . . ."

B. M. McKelway, Washington Evening Star—"I doubt that the scheme to give editors an opportunity to defend themselves on political news play will work, except to create resentment and antagonism . . ."

Turner Catledge, New York Times—"While we are not too hopeful about the results that can be obtained . . . we are willing to assume that a useful job could be done and for that purpose to co-operate with those carrying it out . . ."

John Cowles, Minneapolis Star and Tribune—"I am all for the project . . . I am impressed with the thoroughness with which the research men have considered the various phases of the problem."

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
✓ Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date JAN 27 1956

336

FD-36 (6-21-55)

FBI

Date: February

Transmit the following message via AIR-TEL

AIR-MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-41364)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
IS - X

Remyair-tel 2/2/56.

[redacted] upon reinterview this date, advised he telephonically contacted [redacted] on evening of 2/2/56 as scheduled. [redacted] advised him that program will be sponsored by SF Council for Civic Unity. No mention was made of the Fund for the Republic. [redacted] stated that in first conversation held with [redacted] several days ago, latter definitely stated that program being put on by Fund for the Republic and that this organization was furnishing funds.

No formal format for program has been arranged as yet, but [redacted] states that TV pictures will be filmed and one phase of picture will deal with the subject of illegal searches and seizures. [redacted] mentioned a program held on "Dragnet" several weeks ago in which there was depicted the difficulty encountered by law enforcement agencies in obtaining legal evidence under present existing laws. [redacted] stated that an attempt will be made to borrow the actual "Dragnet" film dealing with this subject used on the "Dragnet" program and this will be spliced into film to be made. It is estimated that this portion of film would take approximately 5 minutes. (This refers to recent decision of California Supreme Court in CAHAN case outlawing use of illegally obtained evidence in California)

b6
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b7C

AIRMAIL
3 - Bureau
1 - SF 100-41364
1 - SF 100-24527 (CIVIC UNITY)
1 - [redacted]
LAS:bjn
(6)

EX-125
RECORDED-68
100-391697-337

8 FEB 6 1956

b6
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b7D

Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

LIAISON

Approved: Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

57 FEB 16 1956

FD-36 (6-21-55)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC,

PAGE TWO

To:

He then stated that he might invite some law enforcement officials such as THOMAS LYNCH, District Attorney of San Francisco or J. FRANK COAKLEY, District Attorney of Alameda County, California to present one side of the issue (Re value of microphone evidence) and some other person representing a civil liberties group to present the opposite side.

Also, some discussion took place concerning featuring a short on modern electronic devices. [redacted] stated that [redacted] said that he does not want to show a closeup of wire tapping because he did not wish to make a lot of amateur wire tappers.

b6
b7C

There was some mention of a locale for the filming of the TV picture and [redacted] stated that he suggested that this possibly could be done in Marin County, California in some house. [redacted] stated that he desired [redacted] to act as a technical expert and to lend him his microphones and recording machines, and other electronic devices used. It was agreed that [redacted] will telephonically contact [redacted] again on 2/9/56 for further conversations and if possible, the actual filming of the picture would take place on 2/11/56. However, no definite date or arrangements have been made for the actual showing of the film on TV. This matter is being closely and discreetly followed.

b6
b7C

WHELAN

CC: MR. BELMONT
~~AND SUPERVISOR~~ _____
DOM. INTEL. DIVISION

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: January 12, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), called on me on the afternoon of 1-11-56 and furnished the following information in confidence:

Ferman has known Elmo Roper for many years. Roper at one time was a jewelry salesman when Ferman knew him in New Orleans. Roper has no concept of his responsibility as a member of the Board of Directors of a foundation such as the Fund for the Republic. Roper feels that all of their problems are public relations problems; that their projects are satisfactory. He now agrees that the Fund has been very inept in the selection of some of its materials and that the big problem is to get rid of Hutchins. Roper asked Ferman if he would be interested in a job with the Fund as its Washington representative for the purpose of trying to keep the Fund on a more even keel. Ferman would not be interested.

Ferman talked at great length regarding the tax exempt situation--as it confronts the Fund and the Fund operations in the propaganda field. Roper has asked Ferman to talk to Dean Griswald and Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College, which Ferman has agreed to do. Roper is beginning to assume more and more leadership in the Fund.

Ferman further told me that Morris Ernst is taking quite an active interest in the Fund and in Ferman's opinion Ernst wants to get on the Board of Directors. Ernst wrote a long letter to Paul Hoffman last week which was read at the meeting of the Board of Directors last Saturday wherein Ernst stated the Board could not capitulate at this time. Ferman is trying to get a copy of the letter because he feels that Ernst's letter had the effect of bucking up the Board.

RECORDED-37 100-391697-338

LBN:gjm
(4)
cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

INDEXED-37

16 FEB 9 1956

100-391697

EX-118

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

FEB 9 1956

Memorandum Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson January 12, 1956
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Fund for the Republic has been making a series of grants to Catholic institutions recently and is seeking to underwrite a large project to be handled by Fordham University dealing with the Fifth Amendment. According to Roper, the Fund for the Republic has been hurt more by the new leaders, Sidney Hook, ~~Sol~~ Stein, and the left wing liberals. In fact, Roper told Ferman they simply cannot answer these people although they could answer Fulton Lewis, George Sokolsky, and The American Legion. This certainly supports a thesis that I have been trying to advocate for sometime now; that the most effective fight can be waged by hitting the Communists and the left wingers with the left ultra liberal group. I am more and more convinced that this is absolutely necessary if any real headway is to be made. Ferman asked Roper if any further consideration had been given to a survey of the FBI, and Roper's reply was that they had been turned down long ago and Roper did not even pursue the matter further.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 13 1956

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

FBI, DENVER 2-9-56 5-20-PM MST DLR

DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, SAN FRANCISCO U R G E N T

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IS DASH X. RE SF AIRTEL FEBRUARY TWO FIFTYSIX, AND SF TEL FEBRUARY NINE FIFTYSIX CAPTIONED SF COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY, SPONSORSHIP TV PROGRAM QUOTE BARRIER UNQUOTE. FILES DN DIVISION CONTAIN NO INFO RE [redacted] AND NO CRIMINAL RECORD LOCATED. CREDIT RECORD CONTAINS NO DEROGATORY INFO.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-4-89 BY [illegible]

BURKE

RECORDED 100-391677-339

SF TO BE ADVISED

END AND ACK PLS

Mr. Belmont

13 FEB 13 1956

100-391677

7-25 PM OK FBI WA BLW

DISC P

4 FEB 15 1956

LIAISON

Thompson

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: December 2, 1955

FROM : Mr. Stanley

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

SUBJECT: YARMOLINSKY'S SURVEY
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Tom Donegan has furnished memoranda reflecting agencies' comments on fifteen cases in Yarmolinsky's booklet "Case Studies in Personnel Security." These comments together with Yarmolinsky's booklet and the Bureau files regarding these cases have been reviewed and the attached memoranda prepared. In thirteen of the fifteen cases the Bureau has previously conducted investigations. In the remaining two no question of loyalty is involved and the investigations were not conducted by the Bureau. Identity of confidential informants and sources are shown in the attached memoranda.

In the introduction to his booklet, Yarmolinsky stated his account of the cases was of necessity incomplete in that the Government's files were not available to him; that the material for the studies was obtained from the files of the lawyers who represented the employees and, in the main, reliance had been placed on documentary material such as written charges, employees' responses and transcripts of hearings. Such material relates to the adjudication of the cases and in most instances is not in the Bureau files. It would, however, be in the agencies' files.

2 ENCL.

In the majority of the fifteen cases the agencies have commented to the effect Yarmolinsky's accounts present a reasonably fair statement of the proceedings. In no case did an agency take vigorous exception to Yarmolinsky's presentation. The agencies have, however, noted a number of items in Yarmolinsky's survey and commented to the effect they were inaccurate or misleading.

As noted above Yarmolinsky's material relates to the adjudication of the cases and discusses the charges, hearings and decisions rendered. Considerable space is utilized in quoting from the charges and transcripts of the hearings. Included in some of the general items covered in the write-ups are the extent of evidence introduced by the government, whether any government witnesses were produced for testimony and cross-examination, whether employees retained counsel, the amount of counsel fees and the time which elapsed between each adjudicative step. The write-ups contain no criticism the Bureau.

1956

Memorandum for Mr. Rosen

Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson, dated November 5, 1955, concerning Mr. Nichols' discussion with Warren Burger regarding Yarmolinsky's study reflects Mr. Burger agreed with Mr. Nichols' suggestion that the Department should assign lawyers to get the hearings from the various agencies along with the Bureau's reports and carefully review Yarmolinsky's study with the view of trying to find inconsistency, undue emphasis, or outright contradiction. Burger advised he would suggest this to Assistant Attorney General Tompkins. The reports in the thirteen cases investigated by the Bureau have been previously forwarded to the Department. It is not known whether or not Tompkins has assigned lawyers to conduct such a review. Mr. Nichols' memorandum of November 14, 1955, reflects Tom Donegan advised the names of the cases in Yarmolinsky's study, which had been identified, together with the agencies' comments had been furnished to Walt Yeagley of the Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Nichols for his information. As noted above, detailed memoranda regarding the fifteen cases on which agencies' comments have been received are attached. Identities of Bureau informants and sources are set forth in these memoranda. For ready reference a synopsis of each of these fifteen cases has been prepared and a memorandum containing these synopses is attached.

ADDENDUM:

Subsequent to the dictation of the above there were received on November 24, 1955, agencies comments on seven additional cases. Memoranda concerning these seven cases are being prepared.

62-101860
Enclosures
cc: 1 - Mr. Nichols, Room 5640 (Sent Direct)
1 - Mr. Belmont, Room 1742 (Sent Direct)
WLW:mal:nf:sal
(6)

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 2/6/56

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-53004)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC,
1444 Wentworth Avenue,
Pasadena, California
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY 8351 TJ/ap

The following is furnished for information purposes:

[redacted] Los Angeles, California, telephone WEbster 6-1900, telephoned the Los Angeles Office, January 27, 1956, and advised SA LESLIE F. WARREN that he had recently applied to the above-captioned for employment and in outlining his past experiences, he mentioned that he had in the past been employed as a publicist for various growers in Southern California and had worked on ~~the~~ matters relating to the internment of Japanese in the United States during the early part of World War II; that he had implied that these growers had been in favor of the Japanese being interned in this country. b6 b7C

[redacted] continued that on January 27, 1956, he received a letter from the Fund for the Republic signed by HALLOCK HOFFMAN, Executive Assistant to the President, wherein HOFFMAN stated in substance that many people felt that the Japanese had been done an injustice and discriminated against by their being interned in the United States during World War II and that the Fund for the Republic was interested in using any material which [redacted] may have compiled regarding the growers, et al, being in favor of the Japanese internment provided [redacted] could fully document his material, and there was nothing in [redacted] background which might embarrass the Fund for the Republic. b6 b7C

[redacted] then voiced the opinion that it appeared that the Fund for the Republic was attempting to try to prove that the real basis for the exclusion of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast during World War II was a result of pressure by groups such as the growers associations rather than any military danger. He added that this was contrary to his own thoughts on the matter and that for this reason he did not intend to accept the Fund for the Republic's offer. b6 b7C

RECORDED - 96 100-397617 340

INDEXED - 96

(2) Bureau (Registered
1 Los Angeles (100-53004)
LFW:ew
(3)

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[redacted]

Liffson

[redacted] mentioned that he was aware that the Fund for the Republic had recently received nation-wide publicity from various groups alleging that the Fund for the Republic followed the Communist Party line. b6 b7C

Mr. [redacted] also mentioned that [redacted] in the United States Marine Corps [redacted] United States Navy Attache in Tokyo, Japan. b6 b7C

Los Angeles indices 46-167 revealed that [redacted] who appears to be possibly identical with the aforementioned complainant, was the subject of a Fraud Against the Government case, Los Angeles origin, Bureau file 46-3771, which investigation concerned certain alleged irregularities in the procurement of Government contracts and was handled by the War Frauds Unit, and which case was closed on the recommendations of the Attorney General, November 6, 1944, on the basis that a review of the facts did not warrant further investigation. The title of this case was entitled Captain JAMES IRVINE; [redacted] et al. b6 b7C

[redacted] in March, 1950, furnished the Los Angeles Office with two pamphlets which had been written in connection with the political campaign which he was working on for one WELBURN MAYOCK against Governor EARL WARREN of California alleging political tie-ups between ARTIE SAMISH, prominent California lobbyist for the liquor industry, and the Governor WARREN regime. These pamphlets were entitled "Behind the 8-Ball Law" and "How Come, Mr. Attorney General Warren and Mr. Governor Warren?" [redacted] also mentioned in March of 1950 that he had on one occasion, as reflected in the Congressional Record March 31, 1944, testified on behalf of the U. S. Government before a Federal Grand Jury at San Antonio, Texas, during an investigation of the "small loan racket." He claimed he had been formerly engaged in a small loan business and had considerable knowledge of the activities of the small loan companies. In March of 1950, Mr. [redacted] claimed he had been making a living the best way he could and he had done "ghost writing" for various causes and had worked on "both sides of the fense" in this connection. He elaborated on this statement by saying he made a dollar wherever he could and that he could either be "a good guy or a first class SOB." He added, however, that he would like to see the FBI clean up what he described as the "criminal entry into politics," and reiterated that he would furnish any information along this line which came to his attention regardless b6 b7C

of whether he was able to prove evidence submitted or not.

HALLOCK HOFFMAN is the subject of a closed SM-C file, Los Angeles 105-2566, Bureau file 100-298992. He was also the subject of an AEA-A case in 1950 entitled HALLOCK BROWN HOFFMAN - WAZ - 31086, rebulet to Los Angeles dated September 14, 1950, in this regard (Los Angeles file 116-27346).

RECORDED-35
INDEXED-35

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February 10, 1956

EX.-107

Mr. John L. Hance
Box 146
Hermon, New York

Dear Mr. Hance:

Your letter dated February 2, 1956, with enclosure, has been received, and although I would like to be of assistance, the files of the FBI are confidential and information in them is available for official use only.

I know that you will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either that we do or that we do not have the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent inquires about the "~~Foundation~~ Fund for the Republic, Inc."

CEM:ivs
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY DSB/STJ

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAILED 2
FEB 15 1956
COMM-FBI

63 FEB 15 1956

Fermon, New York
2 February 1956

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is an article which I received today. As you will note I attached the return address from the envelope. I received this as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Fermon, New York. It rather surprised me as I very seldom get mail like this except some article perhaps which is sent from the New York State or Federal Chamber of Commerce. I don't like to consider myself one of those individuals that thinks everything or everybody is a Communist just because I don't happen to agree with their thinking--but even though I partially agreed with some of the thoughts in the articele, the whole thing rather made me wonder just what type of organization this socalled "The Fund for the Republic, Inc." really is. What made me wonder was "Whose Republic is this Fund for? the good old U.S.A. or the not so good old U.S.S. REPUBLIC?

If is within your policy could you tell me if this outfit is Red, White and Blue or just plain Russian Red. I'd sincerely appreciate an answer on this. Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

John L. Hance

John L. Hance
Fermon, New York

ENCLOSURE
35

article
The Fund for Cons
by George E. Sokolsky

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-27-99 BY 2083 STJ/ab

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100-391697-341

INDEXED-35

20 FEB 14 1956

NO TONES

ORIGINAL REC.

The Fund for the Repub[illegible] INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

REPRINTED FROM THE OCTOBER 22, 1955 ISSUE OF
The Saturday Review
DISTRIBUTED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

THE LANDY CASE

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

EVEN though Secretary of the Navy Charles Thomas has finally vindicated Eugene Landy this case will not soon be forgotten. It sharply reveals the evils of suspicion. Eugene William Landy was accused of nothing. His crime consisted in the choice of a mother. Landy never joined the Communist Party. He never joined the Komsomol. He never engaged in Party politics. If he did not put on his questionnaire that his mother was or had been a Communist, he did say that he had never been one.

He was admitted to the U. S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, Long Island, in 1951. He was duly screened. In 1952 Navy Intelligence knew all about his record and his mother's. Nothing is said to Landy. He goes right ahead. He reaches the second place in his class. He wins honors for good work. His future seems to be bright.

Then comes graduation and he is struck down. The only reason: his mother was a wrong one. Suppose his mother were a prostitute, a thief, in prison for dope-peddling, or executed for murder. Would the boy have been struck down after reaching second in his class?

No evidence is adduced that the mother penetrated our Government on behalf of an enemy power. No evidence is offered to show that the boy even lipped his mother's doctrine while he was a cadet at Kings Point or that he organized or joined a Communist cell, or that he was what nowadays passes for a liberal. All that appears in the public record is that he did his homework and came out second in his class and that his mother is unsatisfactory to the Navy.

Here we face not a political but a moral question. Can we maintain the Judeo-Christian civilization in opposition to the Marxist civilization if, to advance himself, a son is required to denounce, to renounce, to repudiate his mother?

This is not a matter of sentimentality; it is a question of morality. In our civilization, based as it is upon the Bible, "Honor thy father and thy mother" is not optional; it is a dictum of Natural Law which may not be violated without peril to one's soul. It is not a question of telling on a friend or an associate. A parent is in a special moral relationship beyond the power of the individual to change or undo. It is possible for some to divorce a wife, to annul a marriage. It is unforgivable to betray a parent. Whether one is a believer in God or is an atheist, in our society the Natural Law is the foundation of our way of life and its rejection can only produce anarchy.

What the Navy says to Landy, in effect, is: "You're a fine lad, and if you only had another mother you would get along all right." They did not say it in 1951 when he came in, or in 1952 when they discovered the taint. But in 1955, when he is to enter upon a career of usefulness to society, they chop him down and use his mother as the ax. No matter what is wrong with his mother, in our morality, he has no alternative but to protect her. In Genesis we recall the story of Ham, Shem, and Japheth. Noah is drunk and Ham gazes upon his nakedness. For this act of disrespect he is cursed forever. The story may be a fable, but the moral is final.

In the Landy case, we move backward from morals to mores; from personal responsibility to group liability; from the fundamentals of the Judeo-Christian life to the savagery of tribal life. It is part of the conception of total warfare, of total statism, of the Hitler-Stalin postulate that man is a creature of the state without will or personality of his own.

A COMPLICATING factor in all these cases is the unbelievable ignorance on all sides of the ideas involved in the terms liberalism, Marxism, Communism, Leninism, Democracy. To most these words lack precise meaning. They are mere sounds which evoke favorable or unfavorable emotions. The same could be said of such terms as Judeo-Christian civilization or Natural Law or Christian Ethics. The result is that the Government investigators often do not know what they are investigating and the resisters do not know what they resist. The investigators should be investigating penetration and not whether a non-Communist likes to drink tea with his Communistic mother-in-law. The investigator should be seeking penetrators into our Government, not boys

—*Wide World.*

Eugene Landy—"a moral question."

whose mothers happened to join the Communist Party probably without the slightest understanding of what it is. By penetration I mean a system of using natives, as members of the Communist Party, to penetrate organs of government and the organs of the people so that by peaceful means they come into control and take over in the interest of the Kremlin.

When John Garfield, the actor, "confessed" to me about his Communist activities I discovered that he did not know what he was talking about. He gave money to causes because he thought that it would please Charlie Chaplin and he wanted to please Charlie Chaplin. Many involvements eventuated from this desire to please Chaplin, but Garfield lacked the historic background, the political ingenuity to know what they were, and when he found himself on the eve of an indictment for perjury he could not unravel his own story in his own mind with enough clarity to discover his perjury. When it was pointed out to him that he had been misled by learned counsel and able press agents he still could not grasp how he came to tell so many different and conflicting stories when the truth was so simple and clear and freed him from suspicion. But of Communism, Marxism, Leninism, Democracy he understood nothing. They were words, words, words.

Coming back to the Landy case: the Navy has not committed a political error; it has violated fundamental morality and that is not to be accepted for any reason if we are to survive in our civilization. If we are to adopt Stalinist methods in opposition to Communism we admit that our own system is bankrupt. That is not true.

We can defeat evil by pursuing what we believe to be good and right.

Mr. L. V. Boardman

2-10-56

Mr. A. H. Belmont

cc - Boardman
Belmont
Nichols
Young
Johnson
Schultz

WILBUR H. FERRY, aka
"Ping" Ferry, V. P.,
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING
Bufile 100-420181

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY 8058/TS/08

Boston, by letter dated 1-31-56, advised that former SA Joseph F. Gall, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, State of New Hampshire, Concord, in charge of the New Hampshire Investigation into Subversive Activities, furnished the following information concerning captioned subject, whose activities in the State of New Hampshire, according to Mr. Gall, are the subject of an investigation by his office, and who is presently Vice President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 60 East 42nd Street, New York City.

The New Hampshire Attorney General's Office is in possession of a Photostat of a letter written by subject to President John Dickey, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, dated 12-14-53, in which he criticized the New Hampshire State Investigation into Subversive Activities being conducted by Attorney General Louis Wyman and his possible questioning of professors of Dartmouth, offering his assistance in any way possible to combat this investigation. Subject stated he was putting himself forth as an indignant alumnus, not as a public relations counsel, and referred to "Wyman's Investigation" as a fishing trip of a ranker stripe than most, stating it should be resisted, derided, and put in its proper contemptible light.

Mr. Gall said a subpoena has been issued by his office for subject's appearance at Concord for testimony in connection with the New Hampshire Investigation into Subversive Activities, and it will be served upon Ferry if and when he is located in the State.

Bufiles reflect Ferry was never subject of Bureau investigation. Background information consolidated into memo, Belmont to Boardman, under above caption dated 9-22-55.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be forwarded to Boston.

Enclosure

cc - 100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

RES:bew:amk
(7)

100-391697

NOT RECORDED
149 FEB 14 1956

FEB 14 1956

Mr. [illegible]

February [illegible]

Best copy available

L. A. Jones

[illegible]

On his Tuesday night broadcast, Lewis mentioned the Chiang only briefly adding that three vacancies on the Board's Board of Directors had just been filled. These vacancies were caused by the death of a Board member by the name of Lincoln [illegible] and the resignation of Board members Asmore [illegible] and Grover [illegible]. Lewis did [illegible] to be the one of the new Board members, [illegible] Oscar Hammerstein II, whom he described as a musical comedy writer who has been active in numerous left wing groups. The second new Board member is Roger N. Baldwin, former Mayor of San Francisco. Lewis said Baldwin was a Republican but became a liberal reformer and another director of Foreign Aid in China under Dean Acheson. He said upon his return from China that the Communists were doing fine in Nanking and Shanghai and that the Americans and Britons would be able to do business with them. The third new Board member is J. Howard Marshall, vice president of the Standard Oil and Gas Company and an oilman in Fort Worth, Texas. Lewis described Marshall as a very [illegible] liberal.

In conclusion, Lewis said in spite of the admonitions of Henry Ford II, things just don't seem to be getting any better.

[illegible] INDICATION:

[illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY SP8 [illegible]

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]
[illegible] Mr. Tolson
[illegible] Mr. Nichols
[illegible] Mr. [illegible]
[illegible] Mr. [illegible]

[illegible]

(7)

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: February 9, 1956

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Miss Cole
1 - Section Tickler

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: J. HOWARD MARSHALL
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

At the Director's request, Bufiles reviewed on J. Howard Marshall, Vice-President of Signal Oil and Gas Company, Ft. Worth, Texas. Marshall, Oscar Hammerstein, Broadway producer-playwright, and Roger D. Lapham, former mayor of San Francisco, are newly elected board members of the Fund for the Republic. Separate memoranda being prepared on Hammerstein and Lapham.

Marshall born 1-24-05, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; graduated from Haverford College, 1926 and received LL.B from Yale, magna cum laude, 1931; assistant professor of law at Yale, '31-'33; member, Petroleum Administrative Board and Assistant Solicitor, U.S. Department of Interior, '33-'35; Special Counsel, Standard Oil Company of California, '35-'37; partner, Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro law firm, San Francisco, '38-'44; Chief Counsel Petroleum Administrator for War, '41-'44, also Assistant Deputy Administrator, '43-'44; General Counsel, U.S. Delegation to Allied Commission on Reparations, '45; member, Military Petroleum Advisory Board to Joint Chiefs of Staff, '44-'50; President and director, Ashland Oil and Refining Co., '44-'51; Vice-President and director, Signal Oil and Gas Co. since '52. (Who's Who)

Bufiles reflect J. Howard Marshall listed as a sponsor of the San Francisco School of Social Studies in '37. On 12-9-37, one Ivan Francis Cox filed a complaint in the Superior Court of the State of California, San Francisco, against the 13th District of the Communist Party (CP) and numerous individuals and organizations. An additional amendment was introduced into the suit naming the sponsors and directors of the San Francisco School of Social Studies in which J. Howard Marshall was joined as a defendant. The amended complaint alleged that Marshall was among the sponsors and directors of the San Francisco School of Social Studies, who conspired and confederated to keep from the public press the true facts surrounding the enunciated purposes and aims of the School and had, otherwise by devious and divers means attempted to use influence and pressure on several individuals and persons on numerous occasions with the object and purpose of hiding and concealing the fact that the School was in reality a training school for adult organizers of the CP, particularly the 13th District of the CP with headquarters in San Francisco. In Dec., '50, [redacted] b7E [redacted] (Loyalty of Government Employees) was conducted in connection with Marshall's application as Consultant to Petroleum Administration for Defense, Department of the Interior, based upon this information. During the

121-26179
MJC:jdb:mec
(8)

NOT RECORDED
191 FEB 15 1956

INDEXED - 25

FEB 13 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-28-78 BY

LIAISON

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

86 FEB 20 1956

inquiry, Cox was interviewed and advised that the amendment in the complaint was inserted over his protest by his attorneys; that he subsequently publicly repudiated his connections with the attorneys and the complaint as filed, and had the complaint dismissed in Aug., '38. [redacted] active confidential source, advised that Marshall and almost all the other individuals named as sponsors or directors of the San Francisco School of Social Studies were persons of outstanding professional and social reputations in San Francisco and that the School had used the names of these persons as "window dressing." [redacted] stated Marshall and the other individuals listed were above reproach as to loyalty and had no real active interest in the School. The inquiry developed no further information reflecting adversely upon Marshall's loyalty.

b6
b7C
b7D

RECOMMENDATION:

For informational purposes.

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: February 10, 1956

SECRET

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
IS - X

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Pursuant to the Director's request files were reviewed concerning Roger D. Lapham. Lapham along with Oscar Hammerstein II, and J. Howard Marshall were, according to a news release February 7, 1956, elected as new Board members of the Fund for the Republic.

Lapham was the applicant of a European Recovery Program investigation in 1948. Investigation failed to reflect any pertinent derogatory information and references and associates, which included Earl Warren, former Governor of California, and now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, vouched for and recommended Lapham as to loyalty. Lapham was the mayor of San Francisco from 1944-48; management representative National War Labor Board, 1942-43; and Chief of the Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to China, 1948-49, and Mission to Greece, 1950-52.

In 1951 an informant furnished original documents of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). One of these documents dated 1/20/38 reveals that Lapham was a member of the American Council of the IPR. These documents also reflected that Lapham was one of a number of speakers and distinguished guests who were presented to the public by the "Seattle group" of the "Pacific Northwest Division" of the American Institute of Pacific Relations in 1950. The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in 1952 stated among other things that the IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and the Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence which disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources.

RECORDED-35
INDEXED-35

100-391677-343

(U) ~~(S)~~ In 1954 while checking confidential records of State Department a letter was observed dated 1/18/50 written from R. D. Lapham to Livingston Merchant, presently Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. This letter stated that he, Lapham, knew that two individuals had called on him who knew that he had advocated recognition of Chinese Communists. (U) (140-6358-1 p.3) Our files reflect that during Lapham's tenure as mayor he was in numerous contacts with the Soviet Consul in San Francisco. During our investigation of the Communist Party in 1943 it was determined that the Communist Party exerted considerable influence against the candidacy of Lapham for mayor. On 10/11/55 Lapham along with other public officials attended the opening of a new Chinese newspaper which according to Senator Knowland would be a "new weapon in the fight to liberate the Chinese mainland." Results of file reviews concerning Oscar Hammerstein II and J. Howard Marshall are being submitted by separate memoranda.

16 FEB 14 1956

VTW:mlp/lmm/mec (5)
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Mr. Whaley

FEB 14 1956

SECRET

LIAISON

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

SECRET

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast of 2/7/56 stated that Lapham was a life-long Republican of extreme liberal persuasion and the former Director of Foreign Aid in China under Dean Acheson who said upon his return from China that the Communists were doing fine in Nanking and Shanghai and that the Americans and Britons would be able to do business with them.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

SECRET

Boardman
Belmont
Nichols
Young
Johnson
Schultz

AIRTEL

February 10, 1956

SAC, BOSTON
100-31186

SILAS H. [illegible], V. P., [illegible],
[illegible], SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

Reurlet 1-31-56.

You should immediately report to the Bureau all pertinent information which comes to your attention concerning subject's appearance before the Committee Investigating Subversive Activities in the State of New Hampshire.

HOOVER

Buffile 100-420181

NOT RECORDED
192 FEB 14 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

Enclosure to memo Belmont to Boardman re same subject, same date, RES:bew:amk.

cc - 100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

RES:bew:amk
(9)

YELLOW DUPLICATE
FEB 10 1956
MAILED

FEB 15 1956

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

February 10, 1956

MR. A. H. BELMONT

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

The Director requested a memorandum on captioned individual after it was announced that Hammerstein, Roger D. Lapham and J. Howard Marshall had been appointed to the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic. Separate memoranda have been prepared on Lapham and Marshall.

In October, 1951, a security investigation was conducted concerning Hammerstein based on his reported connections with numerous Communist Party front organizations. This investigation reflected that during the 1940's he had been a sponsor of or had participated in activities of 8 organizations cited by the Attorney General, 1 organization cited by the HCUA and 9 organizations cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities. In addition to these activities, Hammerstein has employed numerous Communist Party members or sympathizers in his "shows." He has always fought discrimination and censorship. Vincent Hartnett, coauthor of the publication "Red Channels" advised in 1951 it was his opinion that Hammerstein had recently changed his views toward Communism because (1) Hammerstein did not obstruct the effort of CBS to ascertain in a fair manner which of its employees had subversive affiliations; (2) a letter dated 6-21-51 of the Authors' League of America which was cosigned by Hammerstein rebuffed a pro-Communist group in the Radio Writers' Guild; and (3) Hammerstein's revival of "Oklahoma" did not have any Communist Party members or sympathizers among its performers although the original production contained many such individuals.

In December, 1955, Hammerstein was on the Board of Advisers of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, which organization has stated that its purpose is to elect qualified liberals to the National Legislature.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum giving more specific details concerning Hammerstein's activities in cited groups be forwarded to the Attorney General together with a carbon copy for Deputy Attorney General Rogers.

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

100-391697
Enclosure
1 - Mr. Mohr (C)
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Sect. tick.
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Mr. Mohr (100-391697)
1 - Miss Rogers

100-391697-

16

63 FEB 17 1956

URGENT

FEBRUARY 10,

RECORDED-69

344

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SF COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY. REURTEL FEBRUARY NINE. DESIRE YOU DO NOT PARTICIPATE TV PROGRAM BY MAKING RECORDING OR FURNISHING STATEMENT. IN VIEW OF CONTROVERSIAL CHARACTER OF CONTEXT, THE BUREAU DESIRES NO PART WHATSOEVER OF THIS. HOOVER

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Rosen
LBN:ptm
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

RECEIVED READING ROOM FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 10 1956

TELETYPE

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 9 1956

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

FBI, SAN FRANCISCO 2-9-56 1232 PM EAB

DIRECTOR, FBI ATTEN. L. B. NICHOLS, AND SAC DENVER

U R G E N T

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY SP8 [illegible]

SAN FRANCISCO

SF COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY, SPONSORSHIP TV PROGRAM ~~QUOTE~~ BARRIER ~~UNQUOTE~~. RE SF AIRTEL DATED FEB. SIX, THREE AND TWO, FIFTYSIX, ENTITLED ~~QUOTE~~ "FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IS DASH X ~~UNQUOTE~~. MR [redacted] TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED THIS OFFICE AND ADVISED [redacted] SF COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY-S TV PROGRAM ENTITLED [redacted] ~~QUOTE~~ "BARRIER" ~~UNQUOTE~~ WHICH IS TO BE A DOCUMENTARY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OVER STATION KRON. IT IS PRESENTLY CONTRACTED FOR THIRTEEN WEEKS, TO GO ON THE AIR AT TWO THIRTY P.M. ON SUNDAY. THE PRODUCER PROPOSES A FULL YEAR-S SERIES OF TWENTYSIX PROGRAMS. HOWEVER, THIRTEEN HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONTRACTED. THE FIRST PROGRAM IS TO GO ON THE AIR FEB. TWENTYSIXTH AND WILL BE ENTITLED ~~QUOTE~~ "A SURVEY OF THE RACIAL PATTERN IN SF BAY AREA SCHOOLS" ~~UNQUOTE~~. [redacted] ADVISES THAT THE SECOND PROGRAM IS TO BE TELEVISED ON MARCH FOURTH AND IT WILL DEAL WITH THE CIVIL RIGH ASPECTS OF SEARCH AND SEIZURE AND THE USE OF ELECTRONIC LISTENING DEVICES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT. [redacted] STATED THAT THE DIRECTOR AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAVE MADE SOME POSITIVE STATEMENTS ON THE USE OF LISTE ING DEVICES. [redacted] HAS REQUESTED A TAPE-RECORDED, PREPARED STATEMENT FROM ME WHICH WOULD CORRECTLY STATE THE POSITION OF THE DEPT. OF JUSTIC [redacted] INDICATED THAT IF I COULD NOT DO THIS HE MIGHT MAKE A SIMILAR REQUEST OF THE USA, LLOYD BURKE. I ADVISED [redacted] THAT, IN VIEW OF

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

RECORDED-89 100-391697-344

FEB 17 1956

100-391697

63 FEB 21 1956

END PAGE ONE

Mr. Nichols

CRIME SEC.

THE PRESENT FEDERAL LAWS IN REFERENCE TO THIS MATTER AND IN VIEW OF RECENT CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS IN REGARD TO THIS QUESTION, MY FIRST INCLINATION WOULD BE TO GRATEFULLY DECLINE TO ATTEMPT TO MAKE A STATEMENT SUMMARIZING THE VIEWS OF THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS OF THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE ON THIS QUESTION. [redacted] POINTED OUT THAT THIS MATTER IS OF GREAT INTEREST AND THE ONLY THING THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN WAS RECEIVING AN OBJECTIVE AND FAIR FAIL STATEMENT OF THE POSITION OF THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE ON THIS QUESTION. I TOLD [redacted] THAT I WOULD CONSIDER THIS MATTER FURTHER AND GIVE HIM A DEFINITE ANSWER ON IT BY FEB. THIRTEENTH OR FOURTEENTH. THE SUPREME COURT OF CALIF. IN APRIL OF NINETEEN FIFTYFIVE ADOPTED IN PRINCIPLE THE FEDERAL EXCLUSIONARY RULE IN REFERENCE TO ILLEGALLY SEIZED EVIDENCE. THE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT HAD PREVIOUSLY REVERSED A STATE RULING ON THE USE OF A SECRETED MICROPHONE IN THE HOME OF A BOOKIE WHO WAS CONVICTED PRIMARILY ON EVIDENCE OBTAINED THROUGH THE USE OF THE MICROPHONE. THE PUBLICITY RELEASES ON THIS PROGRAM INDICATE THAT DISTRICT ATTORNEYS, JUDGES, AND POLICE OFFICIALS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN THIS PROBLEM AND HAVE DEFINITE VIEWS ON IT MAY BE INVITED TO APPEAR ON THE PROGRAM. IT IS QUITE PROBABLE THAT SOME OF THESE OFFICIALS WILL USE QUOTES FROM TESTIMONY THAT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OR THE DIRECTOR MAY HAVE GIVEN

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END PAGE TWO

BEFORE A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE OR STATEMENTS MADE AT OTHER TIMES ON THIS QUESTION. THERE ARE NO REFERENCES IN OUR FILES TO [redacted]. DENVER HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN REQUESTED TO FURNISH THE BUREAU ANY INFO THEY HAVE IN REFERENCE TO HIM AND IT IS REQUESTED THAT DENVER ADVISE THE BUREAU AND SF BY TELETYPE OF ANY INFO ON [redacted]. THE BUREAU IS FULLY APPRAISED OF THE BACKGROUND AND CURRENT STATUS OF THE SF COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY. IT OCCURS TO ME THAT WE POSSIBLY STAND TO LOSE MORE THAN WE GAIN BY MAKING ANY STATEMENT ON THIS VERY CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT MATTER.

b6
b7C

WHELAN

END AND ACK IN O PLS

WA EARW PM

3-42 PM OK FBI WA PC

DN OK FBI DN DLR

TU DISC

Keep out of this entirely.

[redacted]

cc Mr Nichols

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TO: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

February 9, 1950

Transmit the following message to:

SAC, San Francisco (100-21[illegible])

RECORDED - 4

345

2 - orig and dupl
1 - yellow
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Section tickler
1 - Mr. Whaley

Reairtel 2-2-50. Review of files fails to reflect any information identifiable with [redacted] and no pertinent information concerning Ignatius Courtney other than that furnished by your office. This matter must receive your close attention and Bureau should be advised of all pertinent developments.

b6
b7C

NOTE:

1 - Denver (for information)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-7-89 BY [illegible]

WTW:djc
(8)

NOTE: Re airtel reflects that [redacted] contacted [redacted] and advised him that funds of captioned organization were to be used in connection with some TV films to be shown on such subjects as "False Arrest," and "Illegal Searches and Seizures." [redacted] was offered a position as technical expert in connection with these films. [redacted] operates as a private detective and possesses a great deal of information concerning wire tapping. [redacted] is keeping the Bureau advised of developments. Assistant to the Director Nichols stated "We should follow up on this and get details as they develop."

b6
b7C
b7D

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

COMM — FBI
FEB - 1 1950
MAILED 24

100-391077

SENT VIA _____ M Per _____

FD-36 (2-21-55)

FBI

Date: February 2, 1956

Transmit the following message via AIR TEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-41364)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IS - X

THOMAS MURPHY, Special Agent, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. (PT&T), San Francisco, California, advised on 1-30-56 that one [redacted] who operates as a private detective on a part-time basis and who possesses technical knowledge concerning electronics, furnished information to the Chief Special Agent's Office of the PT&T to the effect that he had been contacted in regard to accepting a position as a technical expert in connection with some TV films to be made with funds furnished by captioned organization. b7D

[redacted] advised officials of the PT&T that he was telephonically contacted by one [redacted] who informed him [redacted] series of TV films to be shown on such subjects as "False Arrest" and "Illegal Searches and Seizures". [redacted] advised [redacted] that he was in need of a technical expert and asked [redacted] whether he would be interested in acting in this capacity at which time [redacted] informed [redacted] that he would give him his decision concerning this offer at a later date. [redacted] furnished the phone number of the San Francisco Council [redacted] as his office in San Francisco. b6 b7C b7D

Records of the PT&T reflect that [redacted] recently moved to California from Lakewood, Colorado and has established residence in Mill Valley, California. No further information is available concerning him.

RECORDED - 4 100-391697-1

Representatives of the PT&T advised [redacted] to furnish information concerning the above offer to this office. On 2-1-56 [redacted] contacted the San Francisco Office as suggested by PT&T representatives, at which time he stated that he had been encouraged by representatives of the PT&T to accept the afore-mentioned position. However, he personally did not desire to accept this position but by doing so, felt that he might be able to present the material in a manner which would not reflect unfavorably on law enforcement agencies. [redacted] had no information indicating these programs were for b6 b7C b7D

(3) - Bureau (Air Mail - Registered)
1 - San Francisco (100-41364)

100-391697

ccs: 1 - Denver (Air Mail - Registered)
1 - [redacted]
1 - SF 100-24527 (Council for Civic Unity)

b7D

LAS:dam
(7)

Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY 038070 1290

Approved: _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (12-21-55)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, SF (100-41364)

To: Director, FBI

purpose of reflecting unfavorably on law enforcement.

[redacted], of course, was told the Bureau could give him no advice regarding accepting the assignment, and he was specifically advised that any such activity on his part would be purely voluntary and could in no way be sponsored by the Bureau. [redacted] advised that he clearly understood this, but that at the same time he wanted to go on record as stating that he was not in sympathy with the idea of the programs as outlined to him thus far, and that he would furnish all information concerning the nature of the programs to this office. He was advised that any information he desired to furnish would be accepted. b7D

San Francisco files contain no derogatory information re [redacted] Credit and criminal checks at San Francisco were negative. During interview [redacted] stated that he was born in San Francisco in [redacted] graduated from St. Ignatius High School and attended 3 years at the University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California. He has been divorced [redacted] and presently resides at [redacted] San Francisco. He has one brother, [redacted] of Chicago, Illinois. b7D

For approximately 16 years [redacted] was [redacted] and during World War II, served for a time in the Signal Corps of the U.S. Army. He is a registered professional engineer and is presently employed by the [redacted] at San Francisco. He continues to operate as a private detective on a part-time basis. b7D

It is noted that the report of SA RAYMOND H. WILLIAMS, dated 12-7-40 at Los Angeles in the case entitled HARRY BRIDGES, was., COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES, IMMIGRATION MATTER, contains information received from HARVEY WOLF who advised the Los Angeles Office that he joined the Communist Party in 1933. Among other individuals whom he identified as most active and prominent in carrying out the "Party line" was one [redacted] a writer in Hollywood who was identified by WOLF as a member of the CP. [redacted] made a trip to the Soviet Union in 1935 in company with [redacted] WOLF said that [redacted] was an ardent and active worker, [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (21-55)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

_____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, SF (100-41364)

To: Director, FBI

WOLF further stated that [redacted] was reported to be an expert in dictaphone installations and was involved in this activity in the [redacted]. WOLF also identified [redacted] who was [redacted], as a veteran and then [redacted] War Veterans Post of Labor's Non-Partisan League of the American Legion. WOLF said this individual was fanatically active and undoubtedly was a Party member.

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b7D

During interview on this date, [redacted] confirmed the above information from Los Angeles concerning [redacted]. He stated that they were [redacted] He stated that [redacted] about 3 years ago in Los Angeles and [redacted] who he stated is no longer pro-Communist, presently resides in San Francisco. The only additional information concerning [redacted] in the files of this office is that in 1938 [redacted] for EMIL FREED, CP candidate for Congress from the 15th District.

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b7D

It should be noted that [redacted] claims to be an expert on electronics and in the past has done some private work on electronics for various Governmental and local law enforcement agencies. He is [redacted] the PT&T, District Attorney's Office, and American Legion officials.

[redacted] stated that he planned to telephonically contact [redacted] on the evening of 2-1-56 to inform him that he was receptive to accepting his offer as a technical expert and to request more specific information from [redacted] concerning the nature of his duties. When subsequently contacted this date [redacted] advised that he was successful in telephonically reaching [redacted] but the latter stated that he was too busy at that time to discuss the matter with him further and requested that [redacted] again contact him by phone on the evening of 2-2-56.

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b7D

Memorial 2/9/56 [illegible]

The Denver Office is requested to conduct credit and criminal check and search their indices re [redacted] and furnish the results thereof to the Bureau and San Francisco.

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b7C
b7D

This matter is being afforded close attention and as soon as additional information is received from [redacted] concerning specific details of the activities of [redacted] in connection with the proposed TV programs, the Bureau will be promptly advised.

We should follow up in this for [illegible] to [illegible]

WHELAN

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

[redacted] gent in Charge

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: February 16, 1956

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

The Los Angeles Office has advised of being contacted by [redacted] residing in Los Angeles, California, who stated that he had recently applied to the Fund for the Republic for employment and in outlining his past experiences he mentioned that he had been employed as a publicist for various growers in southern California. He also indicated having worked on various matters relating to the internment of Japanese in the United States during the early part of World War II and had implied that these growers had been in favor of the Japanese being interned in this country.

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[redacted] continued that on January 27, 1956, he received a letter from the Fund signed by Hallock Hoffman, Executive Assistant to the President, wherein Hoffman stated in substance that many people felt that the Japanese had been done an injustice and discriminated against by their being interned in the United States during World War and that the Fund for the Republic was interested in using any material which [redacted] may have compiled regarding the growers, et al, being in favor of the Japanese internment provided [redacted] could fully document his material, and there was nothing in [redacted] background which might embarrass the Fund for the Republic.

b6
b7C

[redacted] then voiced the opinion that it appeared that the Fund was attempting to try to prove that the real basis for the exclusion of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast during World War II was a result of pressure by groups such as the growers association rather than any military danger. He added that this was contrary to his own thoughts on the matter and that for this reason he did not intend to accept the Fund's offer. (100-391697-340)

b6
b7C

ACTION:

None. For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-81 BY

PGY:mlp
(6)

1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Sect. tick.
1 - Mr. Young

RECORDED - 81

100-391697-346

17 FEB 21 1956

100-391697

50 FEB 24 1956

FD-36 (6-21-55)

FBI

Date: 2/4/56

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL - REGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-41364)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
IS - R

Reyairtels 2/2 and 3/56.

There is attached hereto a clipping from the "San Francisco Chronicle" of this date, outlining a series of programs to be called "Barrier," to be shown on KQED-TV, San Francisco, under the sponsorship of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity. The Fund for the Republic has given a grant of approximately $35,000 for these programs.

This confirms information contained in reairtels furnished by [redacted] It is noted that KQED-TV is owned and operated by the "San Francisco Chronicle." b7D

The Bureau will continue to be furnished with all information concerning this matter.

WEBMAN

Enclosure-1
3-Bureau
1-SF 100-41364
cc: 1-SF 100-24527 (SF Council for Civic Unity)
cc: [redacted] b7D
RAS:hlo
(6)

ENCLOSURE 37

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-7-89 BY

100-391617
100-391617-347

RECORDED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. Belmont

Approved: _____ Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

New Series on KRON

TV Program to Tackle Controversial Subjects

A bold new series of television programs on such issues as race relations, loyalty oaths and religious bigotry was announced yesterday by the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity.

The series—to be called "Barrier"—will be telecast from 2:30 to 3 p. m. on Sundays over KRON-TV starting February 26.

KRON has granted the air time free of charge as a public service. Money to produce the show was given the council in a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

The council's executive director, Edward W. Howden, will narrate the programs.

BAY AREA CASES

He said they would be primarily documentary programs dealing with specific cases in the Bay Area.

Although no cases have yet been selected, he said those under consideration include:

1—Cases of Negroes or Orientals attempting to move into white neighborhoods.

2—Cases involving religious freedom, such as a church that refused to sign the State loyalty oath.

3—Cases involving censorship, such as the "Battle of the Books" in Marin county or the censoring of imported books by the U. S. Customs office here.

4—Cases involving other civil liberties.

BOTH SIDES

Howden emphasized that the programs will attempt to present "two or more sides of any controversial question taken up."

The council generally restricts itself to the field of race relations.

In a letter to its members the council said that, "as an organization" it was "not entering the civil liberties field in which our friends the American Civil Liberties Union and others function so ably—but is sponsoring this one project . . . as a public service."

Planning the series has already induced considerable nail-chewing among its producers. Said the council's letter:

"We hardly need emphasize that 'Barrier's' subject matter is considered these days slightly sensitive and controversial, and that we will be running the risk of having the position of (the council) misunderstood from time to time during the series."

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

"But the Board of Directors has authorized the project and the KRON management has taken it on . . . because of the unprecedented opportunity to advance public appreciation of the great human rights issues of our day."

Howden said the Fund for the Republic had given an initial grant of about $35,000 for the first 26 weekly programs. KRON, he said, had donated 13 weeks of air time with the possibility of renewing the contract for another 13 weeks.

If the program proves successful, Howden said, the Fund for the Republic will spend another $25,000 to televise 26 more weekly programs.

Howden will be assisted in producing the programs by writer-producer Paul Obluda and council directors Brooks Clyde and Bill Losh.

Nine community organizations will serve as consultants for the program when it deals with their fields. They are: American Civil Liberties Union, American Friends Service Committee, San Francisco-Oakland Urban League, Anti-Defamation League, San Francisco League of Women Voters, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council, Japanese American Citizens League and Jewish Labor Committee.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 6, 1956
PAGE 18, COLUMN 1

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: February 13, 1956

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The 2/6/56 issue of "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, reported that San Francisco Council for Civic Unity (SFCCU) was sponsoring series of 26 TV programs over station KRON-TV (owned and operated by Chronicle) beginning 2/26/56. Series to be called "Barrier," will be financed by $35,000 grant from the Fund and will deal with specific cases in the Bay area concerning race relations, loyalty oaths, religious bigotry, and civil liberties. Programs will be narrated by Council's Executive Director, Edward W. Howden, with assistance from [redacted] and Council Directors Brooks Clyde and Bill Losh. Howden announced if programs prove successful the Fund will spend additional $25,000 for more programs. (100-391697-337)

b6
b7C

Bufiles reflect SFCCU was founded 1944 for purpose of dealing with prejudice or discrimination against persons or groups for reason of color, creed, or ancestry. The Communist Party (CP) played some part in formation of Council and there were some CP members on Board of Directors and staff 1944-47. However, according to informants who have furnished reliable information in the past, the CP had no control over policies or activities of SFCCU since early 1947. (100-300461-29, 30)

Edward W. Howden, Executive Director, SFCCU, since 1946, was subject of Bureau security-type investigation 1949 revealing Howden not known to be CP member but had associated with Communists and Communist front organizations early 1940's. [redacted] Referral/Consult [redacted] (100-360252;121-28004-20; 101-2527-9)

Information re above TV programs previously furnished Bureau 2/1/56 by [redacted] Engineer and Electronics Technician, San Francisco, who stated he was offered employment by [redacted] as technical expert for programs. [redacted] planning films on "False Arrests" and "Illegal Searches and Seizures." [redacted] states will accept position and will advise Bureau re further developments. San Francisco is following matter closely. (100-391697-337)

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b7D

No pertinent information in Bufiles re [redacted] Bill (William J.) Losh, Brooks Clyde, and [redacted]

100-391697
RCY:lmm (6)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Mr. Young

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-27-89 BY

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

CRIMINAL REC.

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

ACTION:

None. For your information.

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: February 13, 1956

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
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Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Recently the Los Angeles Office advised that [redacted] potential security informant, had received information relative to the Fund for the Republic having been approached for funds by the Committee Against Waterfront Screening (CAWS), which has offices in San Francisco, California. The informant reported that the Executive Secretary of the CAWS, Walter Stitch, had written him on January 28, 1956, requesting that he set up a branch of the CAWS in Los Angeles harbor area. Stitch stated that the Committee is having a hard time financially and is endeavoring to raise funds by appealing to all civil rights groups. He specified that the Fund for the Republic was one of the groups approached for assistance. He did not state whether the Fund for the Republic responded to the appeal. (LA airtel 2-3-56; any dissemination of above should be most circumspect as informant is only person in Los Angeles familiar with matter.)

By way of background, the CAWS has been reorganized as a result of a recent decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which held that screening as practiced by the U. S. Coast Guard has been illegal and in violation of the U. S. Constitution from its inception. The CAWS is presently engaged in preparation of a pamphlet for a large national mailing, which will describe the history of Coast Guard screening and the meaning of the Ninth Circuit Court decision. It also solicits names of screened seamen and longshoremen for its mailing list. It plans to develop a national list of victimized maritime workers so that every victim of the unconstitutional Coast Guard screening will be kept informed of all legal and other developments in the fight to end screening.

It is noted that both the Chairman and Executive Secretary of the CAWS have been identified in the past as members of the Seamen's Branch of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party in San Francisco (San Francisco airtel 1-25-56 re: CAWS, IS-C; [redacted] (U)

ACTION: None, for your information. Should any additional information be received indicating Fund actually furnishing financial assistance to CAWS, you will be advised.

EJT:djem (8)

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Internal Security Section
1 - P. C. Young
1 - Section tickler
1 - E. J. Toby

100-391697

RECORDED - 20
INDEXED - 20

DIRECTOR

February 21, 1956

SAC, Chicago

2 - orig and dupl
1 - yellow (100-368336)
1 - yellow (100-391697)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Section tickler
1 - P. C. Young

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
MISCELLANEOUS
INFORMATION CONCERNING (SIMILOL)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY 2038 STL/ap

Bureau has received an anonymous letter alleging that Hutchins, when Chancellor of the University of Chicago either in the year 1936 or 1937, was called before a committee of the Illinois Legislature at Chicago following a world-wide conference of youth at the college campus, and when asked if he was a Communist, answered: "Yes, what of it?"

Bufiles do not reflect information concerning Hutchins to be an admitted Communist or member of the Communist Party. It is noted Hutchins had testified before the State of Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission on April 21, 1949, concerning organizations at the University of Chicago which were alleged to be Communist, but his testimony contains no admission that he is or was a Communist. This testimony further reveals that about 1935 an Illinois State Legislative Committee had conducted hearings at the University of Chicago in an attempt to find evidence of subversive activities, but it is not known whether Hutchins testified at these hearings.

You are instructed to search your files and/or local newspaper morgue files for any information in substantiation of the allegation in referenced anonymous letter. You should also attempt to obtain and review the testimony taken before an Illinois State Legislative Committee about 1935, 1936, and 1937 to determine if Hutchins had testified at this hearing and made any admissions of Communist activity. This matter should be expeditiously handled and reply submitted to Bureau at the earliest possible date.

HOOVER

NOTE: An undated anonymous letter signed "An Admirer," was sent to the Walter Winchell of New York City making the above-stated allegation concerning Robert M. Hutchins, who is presently President of the Fund for the Republic. The anonymous letter was then forwarded to the Bureau by Mr. Winchell.

PCY:dje (7)

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

YELLOW DUPLICATE
FEB 21 1956
MAILED

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-368336

FEB 29 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Orig & dupl
yellow
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
- Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - W. F. Woods
1 - Sect. tick.
1 - Mr. Dougherty

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

February 27, 1956

DIRECTOR, FBI

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Reference is made to my memorandum dated January 30, 1956, entitled "Kermit Bloomgarden," which referred to the designation of a panel by the Fund for the Republic to select dramas and documentaries appearing on television during the current season for awards totaling $50,000. Others named to the panel are Cardner Cowles, Duell C. Gallagher, Robert W. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Gilbert Seldes, Robert Taft, Jr., Harrison Tweed, and Philip D. Willkie.

There are enclosed informative memoranda concerning Duell Gordon Gallagher, Gilbert Vivian Seldes, and Philip Herman Willkie.

Robert W. Purcell has not been the subject of investigation by this Bureau and no information could be identified with him in our files. FBI files have not been reviewed concerning Mrs. Roosevelt in view of her prominence and of the numerous references concerning her in our files. Mr. Taft has not been the subject of investigation by the FBI and no information of pertinence could be located in our files concerning him. Mr. Tweed has not been the subject of investigation by the FBI. Our files are being reviewed concerning Cardner Cowles. If any pertinent information is developed, it will be forwarded to you by separate memorandum.

Enclosures (6)

RECORDED-53

EX-103

100-391697-350

RECEIVED FEB 27 3 PM

6 FEB 28 1956

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers (with enclosures 3)
Deputy Attorney General

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

PFD:dje/mlp/lmm (10)

(Cover memo Roach to Belmont, 2/23/56, same re PFD:dje

COMM-FBI
FEB 27 1956
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COPY PM

Mr. Folson

February 27, 1956

L. B. Nichols

Fulton Lewis told me that he has now determined that the grant of fifteen million dollars which was made by the Ford Foundation to the Fund for the Republic carried the proviso if for any reason the Fund for the Republic lost its tax exemption, then unused funds would revert to the Ford Foundation.

Secondly, he has determined that the Pasadena headquarters for the Fund for the Republic has its offices in a building owned by the Ford Foundation, and that he is making some further checks on this.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY SBTJ/ap

100-371

NOT RECORDED
13 FEB 29 1956

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

64 MAR 1 1956

CHIEF, ALL FILES SECTION

Mr. Nichols

February 23, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
FEBRUARY 22, 1956

Mr. Lewis' broadcast was monitored on February 22, 1956, and his main topic, of pertinent interest to the FBI, involved a discussion of the forthcoming Congressional investigation of lobbying interests. Mr. Lewis indicated this probe would include the "Fund For The Republic" and the "Committee For A More Effective Congress." Mr. Lewis also pointed out that the "Committee For A More Effective Congress" had provided money for Senators they were backing and restricted the funds to areas where its use would be most effective.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund For The Republic File 100-391697

JRH:mbk
(8)

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 23, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY SP3 STJ/085

FROM : R. R. ROACH

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC. (FFR)

FFR announced establishment of Robert E. Sherwood awards for best 1955-6 television programs. By ad in "Washington Post and Times-Herald"* 1-29-56, FFR named jurors to select award winners as composed of Kermit Bloomgarden (subject of memorandum previously submitted to Director, Attorney General, and Deputy Attorney General Rogers), Gardner Cowles, Buell P. Gallagher, Robert M. Purcell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Gilbert Seldes, Robert Taft, Jr., Harrison Tweed, and Philip H. Willkie.

Review of Bufiles reflects: GARDNER COWLES, subject of memorandum being submitted separately; BUELL P. GALLAGHER, President of College of the City of New York, former President of Talladega College (primarily for Negroes), Alabama. While co-pastor of Berkeley, Calif., church, ran for Congress in 1948 on Democratic and Independent Progressive Party (described by CCUA)** tickets and was endorsed by Communist-dominated Alameda County CIO Council. Subject of 1950 loyalty investigation while Federal Security Agency employee. Disposition 1951 "eligible on loyalty." Participated in 2 front groups 1939, 40; ROBERT M. PURCELL not subject of FBI investigation, cannot be identified in Bufiles; MRS. ROOSEVELT -- Due to her prominence and voluminous references to her, files not being reviewed concerning her; GILBERT SELDES never investigated by FBI. Connection with 4 cited front groups set forth in summary attached to enclosed memorandum to Attorney General (AG); HARRISON TWEED, prominent attorney, NY, not subject of investigation, maintained Sarah Lawrence College's right to employ persons regardless of their political affiliations in connection with allegation that faculty member might be sympathetic to Communism; PHILIP H. WILLKIE, son of 1940 Presidential candidate and Rushville, Indiana, lawyer, subject of applicant-type investigation in 1953 for Department of State. Member of National Lawyers Guild (cited by HCUA) in 1947-49. Tried to contact Joseph Fels Barnes, member of J. Peters' underground unit of Communist Party. ROBERT TAFT, JR., no FBI investigation, no pertinent information in Bufiles.

ENCLOSURE Memoranda summarizing information in Bufiles on Taft and Tweed are attached. There is also attached a memorandum for the ~~AG and Deputy~~ Attorney General Rogers (DAG) transmitting memoranda concerning Seldes, Gallagher, and Willkie.

RECORDED 96 100-351

INDEXED

EX. - 106

25 FEB 28 1956

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, the enclosed memorandum transmitting memoranda on Seldes, Gallagher, and Willkie will be forwarded to AG and DAG Rogers.

PFD:djeg (8) Enclosures (3)

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. D. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. W. F. Woods
1 - Mr. P. C. Young
1 - Section tickler 1 - Mr. Dougherty

* also in New York Times, 1-29-56

** Calif. Committee to Abolish Actions

February 27, 1956

Re: HARRISON TWEED

The January 29, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" carried an article reflecting that the Fund for the Republic was announcing "The Robert E. Sherwood Awards." Harrison Tweed, a New York attorney, was listed as one of the jurors.

Tweed was born October 18, 1885, in New York and received his LL.B. degree from Harvard in 1910. He has married three times, the first two marriages terminating in divorce. He is a member of the law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hope and Hadley in New York. Tweed is a director and National President of the Legal Aid Society of New York and is a trustee of Sarah Lawrence College also in New York. He is a member of the American, New York State, County and City Bar Associations and President of the American Law Institute.

No investigation has been conducted by the Bureau concerning Tweed. However, Bureau files reflect that on January 18, 1952, John Saunders, Chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Westchester County New York American Legion, forwarded a set of questions to the Chairman of the College Board of Trustees, Harrison Tweed, at the same time releasing the questions to the press stating that Dr. Taylor, not further identified, and Mrs. Helen Lynd, a member of the faculty there, has done "considerable research on the subject of Communism and its affiliations in seeking the truth in relation to the members of the faculty of your college."

The questions numbered 14 and are quoted in part as follows:

(1) Dr. Taylor stated that it is the policy of the college that "we are not interested in the political or religious associations of a person employed or seeking employment in our college nor in the activities of any of our faculty outside the classroom." Is Dr. Taylor correct in stating this is the policy of the college?

WFWoods:nlh:mec

(2) Why does the college permit a convicted Communist, John Gates, to speak before the student body as part of the academic program?

(8) Why does the college continue the employment of Mrs. Helen Lynd as a member of the faculty when she admitted financial support recently of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a listed subversive front organization----?

(10) Why does the college permit Dr. Taylor, Dr. (Bert) Lowenberg and other members of the faculty to participate in activities listed as subversive front organizations----and remain as employees of the college?

(11) Of what benefit is it to the college to have Dr. Taylor actively seek to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Shortly after the release of these questions, Mr. Tweed issued a statement of the college policy intended to answer the questions. This statement reaffirmed the belief in the principle of academic freedom of the trustees and supported the right of the faculty to belong to "any legal political organization of their choosing." He continued that at Sarah Lawrence College "there is to be no indoctrination of students with a political, philosophical or religious dogma." No person, therefore, who takes his intellectual orders from an outside authority whether Communist or any other "could be a member of the faculty of that college. He states that the college asks 'for no orthodoxy in its teachers.'" That then "the teacher would be a mouthpiece for the preconceived philosophy of the institution rather than a seeker for the truth----."

February 27, 1956

Re: ROBERT A. TAFT, JR.

The January 29, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" carried an article reflecting that the Fund for the Republic was announcing "The Robert E. Sherwood Awards." Robert Taft, Jr., was listed as one of the jurors.

The files of this Bureau reflect that Robert A. Taft, Jr., was born February 26, 1917, in Cincinnati, Ohio. He attended Yale College and received his B.A. degree in 1939. In 1942 he received his LL.D. degree from the Harvard Law School. According to the records maintained at Harvard, Taft, while in the Harvard Law School, was on the executive committee of the "Harvard Committee Against Military Intervention." He was a member of the above in 1941 according to the above-mentioned records.

The January 15, 1941, issue of the "Boston Globe" newspaper carried an article which announced that the Harvard undergraduates representing the Harvard Student Union, the Harvard Liberal Union and the Harvard Committee Against Military Intervention had organized a delegation to join with the American Youth Congress in a peace pilgrimage to Washington, D. C., during the period February 7-9, 1941. The American Youth Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to ~~the~~ Executive Order Number 10450.

ARTjgp;nlh

CONFIDENTIAL

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2 - orig and dupl
1 - DAG Rogers
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - yellow
1 - Section tickler
1 - B. V. Gronquist

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February 27, 1956

PHILIP HERMAN WILLKIE

The "New York Times" of January [illegible], 195[illegible], carried an advertisement which reflected the name of Philip H. Willkie as one of the jurors for the "Robert E. Sherwood Award" for the best 1955-1956 commercial television program, a contest being sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. Philip Herman Willkie was born December 7, 1919, in Rushville, Indiana. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Princeton University in 1941, a Master of Arts degree from Harvard in 19[illegible], and a Bachelor of Laws from Columbia University Law School in 19[illegible].

[redacted] the FBI concerning Philip Herman Willkie during July and August, 195[illegible], when he was being considered for a [illegible]-level appointment in the State Department. This investigation revealed that Willkie was practicing law to a limited degree in Rushville, Indiana, and was managing his family farms of approximately [illegible] acres in Rush County, Indiana, as well as the business buildings in Rushville.

b7E

The name of [redacted] New York City, appeared under the heading, "New York Sponsor Membership, 1948 to 1949," in the records of the National Lawyers Guild, which organization has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Information was received in December, 19[illegible], that Philip Willkie, [illegible] Avenue, New York City, was [illegible] an active member of the National Lawyers Guild. (77-59093-14; anonymous)

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/b7C

Information was also received that on June 1[illegible], 195[illegible], Philip Willkie [illegible] Joseph [illegible] [illegible]. The nature or significance of this [illegible] is not known. (anonymous)

An informant who has given reliable information in the past advised that Joseph [illegible] [illegible] of the Foreign News Bureau of the "New York Herald Tribune" from 19[illegible] to 19[illegible], [illegible] accompanied Wendell L. Willkie.

100 - [illegible]

B. V. Gronquist:djes

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Orig. and dupl. to Attorney General, cc to DAG Rogers.

FEB 29 1956

EX - 103

MAR 5, 1956

ENCLOSURE

EX - 103

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Belmont ___
Harbo ___
Mohr ___
Parsons ___
Rosen ___
Tamm ___
Sizoo ___
Winterrowd ___
Tele. Room ___
Holloman ___
Gandy ___

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The subject's father, on the latter's world tour as an envoy of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. On July 17, 1950, the United States Foreign Relations Subcommittee released a statement by Louis Budenz that Joseph Barnes was known to him personally to be a Communist." Budenz is a former managing editor of the "Daily Worker," an east coast Communist newspaper. On July 20, 1950, the "New York Daily Compass," a non-defunct New York City newspaper, carried a statement that Joseph Barnes had denied knowing Budenz and had denied being a Communist Party member. In May, 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed Soviet agent, advised that as a member of the underground movement of the Communist Party, he had been told by J. Peters in approximately 1937 that Joseph Barnes was a principal member of the underground apparatus operated by Peters. (Hearings before HCUA Executive Session, May 10, 1950; 77-59093-27)

A copy of the investigative summary prepared in this case for the State Department was forwarded to the Attorney General by letter dated August 6, 1953.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Announces

The Robert E. Sherwood Awards

For television programs dealing with American liberty and freedom, as presented on commercial television between October 1, 1955, and May 31, 1956.

$20,000 for the best network drama

$20,000 for the best network documentary

$15,000 for the best production of either type by an independent station

Nominations of candidates for the Awards may be made by anyone. *Members of the television industry* and the general public are urged to write or call:

The Robert E. Sherwood Television Awards — Fund for the Republic,
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-1250.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY 8058 STJ/ap

The Jurors

KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN
Theatre Producer

GARDNER COWLES
President
DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE CO. AND COWLES MAGAZINES, INC.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER
President
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT M. PURCELL
Managing Director
KEYD-TV

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

GILBERT SELDES
Author and Critic

ROBERT TAFT, JR.
Attorney
AFT, STETTINIUS & HOLLISTER

HARRISON TWEED
Attorney
MILBANK, TWEED, HOPE & HADLEY

PHILIP H. WILLKIE
Vice President and Attorney
RUSHVILLE, IND. NATIONAL BANK

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC IS A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION DEVOTED TO INCREASING PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRINCIPLES SET DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

60 EAST 42ND STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, *Chairman of the Board* — ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, *President*

memo Belmont to Mr. Tolson 1-30-56 RFD
Attached is memo from DAG to AG re Turner (WFBW) TV program dealing with AG & DAG on Bill of Rights. Subj. will be given BNC 12-7-56 RFD

100-391697

Wash. Post and Times Herald ✓
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror

Date: 1-29-56

ENCLOSURE
100-391697-[illegible]

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: February 23, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., PROGRAM
FEBRUARY 23, 1956

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
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Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

On his radio program at 7:00 p.m., February 23, 1956, Mr. Lewis said that Senator George of Georgia formally named the members of the 8-man Select Investigating Committee to investigate lobbying. The members are Albert Gore, John F. Kennedy, John McClellan and Clinton Anderson (Democrats) and Barry Goldwater, William Purtell, Styles Bridges and Edward Thye (Republicans). Mr. Lewis said the Republican strategy in the organization of this committee will be to demand that the committee adopt a resolution asking "FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover" to select a chief counsel for the committee to insure against any partisanship. He said, "That almost certainly will be turned down by the Democrats." Mr. Lewis further felt that the Republicans would propose that there be two chief counsels, one for the Republicans and one for the Democrats -- and that there be two investigating staffs and that the available funds for investigating be divided equally between the two sides.

Mr. Lewis feels that this will turn out to be the "investigation of the century." He said that the "liberal left" of both parties "just walked into (this investigation) like a haymaker." Mr. Lewis said Republican and Democratic leaders had advised him that the National Committee for an Effective Congress (which supported Senator Flanders against Senator McCarthy), the Americans for Democratic Action and the Fund for the Republic will be investigated by the committee. He said that there are two very distinct facets to the operations of the Fund for the Republic: (1) the political propaganda side and (2) the outrageous administrative cost of 35 cents for every one dollar that is given away. Mr. Lewis noted that the Americans for Democratic Action is headed by Joseph L. Rauh, who "hired Paul Hughes to rifle the files of a congressional committee in the hope of getting information that would be damaging to Senator Joe McCarthy and the committee investigations into communism."

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

100-391697
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170 MAR 2 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-4-89 BY

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17 MAR 1 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: February 28, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

Folson
Boardman
Nichols
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Harbo
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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST FEBRUARY 27, 1956

W.C. Sullivan

During Mr. Lewis' broadcast on Monday night, he stated that on Tuesday night, February 28, 1956, he would go back to his discussion of the Fund For the Republic. He stated that he had stumbled across a very important twist in the original $15000000 grant by the Ford Foundation which means there is something that can be done about the money still in the hands of the Fund For the Republic. He stated that the money can be taken away from the Fund right now by proper governmental action, and he believes that the basis for doing so clearly exists.

RECOMMENDATION: For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY SP8B17

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EX-125

17 MAR 1 1956

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March 21, 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. NICHOLS
MR. BOARDMAN
MR. BELMONT

In conference with the Attorney General this afternoon, I advised him that I had ascertained that the investigation which the Internal Revenue Service had been conducting of the Fund for the Republic to determine whether it should be continued as a tax exempt organization had been concluded and I understood that the report had been submitted to the Internal Revenue Service at Washington last Monday with the recommendation that the tax exemption status of this organization be removed. I told the Attorney General that this report would in due time be sent to the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service and then possibly to the Secretary of the Treasury. I suggested to the Attorney General that he might desire to speak to the Secretary of the Treasury about this matter in order that there would not be any undue delay in reaching a final decision upon this case.

The Attorney General informed me that he had previously discussed this matter with the Secretary of the Treasury and would now mention to him the current status of the investigation so that the Secretary would be aware of the fact that the report has been concluded and is now being reviewed for final recommendation.

Very truly yours,

/s/ J. E. H.

RECORDED - 30

354

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAR 28 1956

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Holloman
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JEH:TLC
(7)

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 4:56 PM
DATE 3-21-56
BY

MAR 26 1956

[illegible]

cc - Mr. Ficarola
cc - Mr. Gardner
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, [illegible]
cc - File [illegible]

[illegible] RECORDED

cc: Mr. Fitzgerald
Mr. H. J. Minnick
Mr. T. G. Young
Mr. L. B. Nichols

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

[redacted], March 16, 1956

b7D

Director, [redacted]

[illegible]
[illegible]
([illegible])

[illegible] employed [redacted] and [redacted] active [illegible], [illegible] confidential sources.

As [illegible] of this type of information [illegible] and the nature of the [illegible] involved, it is [redacted] should be [illegible] or used as a confidential source. Accordingly, your request to [illegible] as [illegible] is hereby denied. [illegible] is no objection, however, to [illegible] information to cases to volunteer.

[redacted] [illegible] of February 7, 1956, entitled "[illegible] and [illegible] Bufiles, [illegible]," the area should be aware of all pertinent developments under [illegible] section. It is [illegible] the [illegible] information concerning [illegible] [redacted] in the Bufiles [illegible] and [illegible] your [illegible].

NOTE ON YELLOW:

San Francisco Council for Civic Unity (SFCCU) began series of twenty-six television programs on 2-26-56, operating under $35,000 grant from Fund for the Republic. Television series will deal with cases in SF area concerning race relations, loyalty oaths, religious bigotry and civil liberties. The [redacted] Bufiles reflect SFCCU founded in 1944 to deal with prejudice and discrimination based on color, creed or ancestry. CP played some part in its formation and some CP members were on Board of Directors and staff from 1944-1947. However, according to informants CP has had no control of policies or activities since early 1947. [redacted] contacted [redacted] and offered him position as technical expert in connection with films to be used in series on such subjects as "False Arrest" and "Illegal Searches and Seizures." [redacted] is a private detective and possesses considerable technical knowledge concerning electronics, including wire-tapping. [redacted]

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b7C
b7D

cc - Bufiles 100-300461 (San Francisco Council for Civic Unity)
100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

JMP:sls
(9)

MAR 26 1956

YELLOW DUPLICATE
MAR 16 1956
MAILED

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO
100-391697
NOT RECORDED
175 MAR 21 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-7-89 BY [illegible]

ORIGINAL FILED IN [redacted]

Tolson
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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

NOTE ON YELLOW:

advised officials of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company of the offer and at their suggestion he contacted SF Office on 2-1-56. He offered to furnish all information concerning the nature of the television program to SF. SF advised him that any information he desired to furnish would be accepted, that no advice could be given regarding accepting the offer, that such activity on his part would be purely voluntary and could not be sponsored by the Bureau in any way. Assistant to the Director Nichols has stated "We should follow up on this and get details as they develop." [redacted] has accepted the position of technical expert and has furnished information obtained by him in this position. Bufiles contain no identifiable information on [redacted]. It is not believed [redacted] should be designated a confidential source or that any encouragement or direction be given to him in view of the nature of the organizations involved in this situation.

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b7C
b7D

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Mr. Nichols

March 16, 1956

Mr. A. H. Jones

[illegible] Jr., [illegible]
[illegible] 16, 1956

In his broadcast on this date, Lewis commented that Vice President Nixon's chances for obtaining the Vice Presidential nomination as a running mate with President Eisenhower are improving, but that the "Washington Post" continues to refer to Nixon as "divisive." Lewis stated that "divisive" is a term frequently used by the Fund for the Republic and the Committee for an Effective Congress. He said that the Committee for an Effective Congress would be thoroughly "sifted" by the eight-man Senate committee currently investigating lobbying. Lewis said that he would like the committee to ascertain the connection between the Committee for an Effective Congress and Senator Ralph Flanders of Vermont. He stated Flanders allowed himself to be used by the Committee for an Effective Congress when he attacked Senator Moorhead with material furnished by the Committee for an Effective Congress at the time the Senate was considering the Censure Resolution against Senator McCarthy.

He added that several influential senators are preparing speeches to be delivered on the floor of the Senate calling that the Internal Revenue Service take away the tax-exempt status of the Fund for the Republic as a charitable organization. He said that the Internal Revenue Service started five months ago to look into the Fund for the Republic after his (Lewis') series of broadcasts concerning the Fund. Lewis referred to the Fund for the Republic as a "political propaganda slush fund," and stated that it should not enjoy a tax-exempt status.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

100-391697 -
NOT RECORDED
167 MAR 26 1956

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Harrison
cc - Mr. [illegible]
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

[illegible]

MR. A. H. BELMONT March 12, 1956

D. E. ROACH

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-4-90 BY 5408 PWS

Reference is made to my previous memoranda reflecting that Bureau has received an anonymous undated letter alleging that Hutchins, when Chancellor of the University of Chicago in 1936 or 1937, was called before a Committee of the Illinois Legislature at Chicago and when asked if he were a Communist, answered: "Yes. What of it?" Hutchins is President of the Fund for the Republic.

Bureau airtel 2-21-56 requested Chicago Division to verify above allegation. Chicago by airtel 2-27-56 advised that "Chicago Daily Tribune" carried articles in May and June, 1935, reflecting Illinois State Senate Committee held three hearings in Chicago to determine extent of Communist influence, if any, at the University of Chicago. Articles reflected Hutchins testified before Committee 5-13-35; however, no mention was made in articles to substantiate above allegation. Articles reflected further that report submitted by Committee on 6-26-35 generally cleared University of Chicago of indoctrinating students in Communism.

The Springfield Division has advised that a review of the report submitted by the above-mentioned Committee fails to reveal that Hutchins at that time made any statement to the effect that he was a Communist. The testimony in instant hearings was not on file at the Archives Building, State of Illinois, Springfield, and according to the Archives clerk, an abstract summarizing the testimony was the only material remaining relative to that hearing. The abstract summarized Hutchins' testimony but failed to reveal any statements by him that he was a Communist.

New York Division has interviewed Frank Straus Meyer re instant matter, who advised that in his opinion Hutchins was never a Communist Party (CP) member although at times he appeared to lean over backwards to tolerate the Party. In his dealings with Hutchins, he was able to manipulate Hutchins for the benefit of the Party on most occasions. However, on other occasions he was unsuccessful in getting to him. He never heard of any statement attributed to Hutchins in which Hutchins admitted being a Communist. Meyer is former CP member who specialized in educational work for CP; was former Director of Chicago Workers School (succeeded by Abraham Lincoln School, cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities) 1933-42; head of American Student Union (cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities) and the Communist Club while at Chicago University 1936-37. (100-46873)

ACTION: None. For information.

Tolson
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Holloman
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Enclosure (6)
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Yellow (100-391697)
Section tickler
Mr. C. Young
100-368336

100-391697

NOT RECORDED
149 MAR 13 1956

MAR 19 1956

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-391697

Mr. Nichols

March 12, 1956

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-4-89 BY [illegible]

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
MARCH 12, 1956

O First [illegible]

During the course of his broadcast tonight, Mr. Fulton Lewis stated that there is a story prevalent to the effect that the Eisenhower political leaders have decided to leave Mr. Nixon dangling on the hook of uncertainty until the time for the San Francisco Republican Convention next August, at which time they would take him or leave him according to which would be most advantageous to the Party. He then said "That does not jive with my own information on the subject. I have been told by several very reliable independent sources that at a White House stag dinner last Thursday night, it was made clear that Mr. Nixon will be the Eisenhower running mate and that has been definitely decided, however, it was considered wise political strategy not to make public announcement of the decision until a considerably later date possibly not even until convention time itself. That tends to be borne out by a statement today made by Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall who was one of the guests at that stag dinner last Thursday. He told reporters this afternoon that he certainly assumed that Mr. Nixon will be the Vice Presidential candidate, and he has assumed that all along. It does not seem logical to suppose that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee who was present at the dinner in question and certainly knows what went on there would be assuming that Mr. Nixon would be the Vice Presidential candidate if in fact it has been decided to dump Mr. Nixon from the ticket as some sources persist in reporting. That just doesn't add up. However, I do happen to know that the members of the California delegation to the Republican Women's Convention that met last week in Washington did go back to California with an impression that they were not to boost Nixon as the Vice Presidential candidate, and that this information suddenly wild-fired to the California delegation after a few of the leaders had attended a cocktail party given by General Lucius Clay in a downtown office building in a suite maintained by the Continental Can Corporation. Instructions were supposed to have been given to the ladies by a person who has great influence in Washington and is very close to Mr. Eisenhower, presumably that means General Clay himself or it

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Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631
cc - File #100-391697

B.S:age
(8)

NOT RECORDED
46 MAR 15 1956

was certainly most presumptuous of him to be issuing any such instructions. General Clay, of course, is one of the two ring leaders in the anti-Nixon pact, the other being Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the infamous Fund for the Republic and the president of the Studebaker-Packard Automobile Corporation. Just how these people managed to get the ear of the President and persuade him that they knew anything about National politics is a mystery which I suppose never will be solved. Paul Hoffman, for example, is constantly pontificating that the voters of the Nation don't want Nixon, that Nixon will lose votes for the Eisenhower ticket if he is the running mate. Actually Mr. Hoffman does not have the slightest idea in the world what the voters of the Nation think, and he wouldn't know how to find out. He bases his purported opinion on the equally incompetent and highly prejudicial indoctrination which he gets constantly from his colleagues in the Fund for the Republic. Such people as Robert Maynard Hutchins whom he idolizes and W. H. Pinc - Perry and his own ultra radical son Hallett Hoffman who runs the California end of the Fund for the Republic, also from some of the Park Avenue Pink Set in New York who never did vote for Mr. Eisenhower anyway but are using the gullible Paul Hoffman as a poison pipeline hoping to undermine Nixon with the President so as to get rid of him because they are afraid of him. The fact is that the Republican members of Congress are almost solidly behind the young gentleman from California not so much because of any overt loyalty to Nixon but because they are afraid of what they may get in place of him. Most of them, I think, would prefer Senator Knowland of California the Republican leader of the Senate, but they see little possibility in getting him on an exchange, so they insist on Nixon. As it is, sufficient fire has generated to force the dumping of Mr. Nixon, the people who are responsible are the sort to demand someone from their own ultra-liberal click. There is a great deal of talk about Harold Stassen, the President's personal advisor on disarmament matters in that role. Thats hardly conceivable, however, because Stassen would never plea to the so-called liberal vote which the President already has and it would alienate the great conservative and middle of the road element of the Republican Party which has to be the backbone of the President's political strategy. Stassen, however, would be highly acceptable to General Clay and Paul Hoffman as much so as he would be an outright anathema to members of Congress as a whole, and he didn't help himself in the latter connection by his appearance last week before the McClellan Committee of the Senate. He was defiant, sarcastic sometimes actually insulting to the members of the Committee which he has been on several occasions before. Members of Congress have a powerful influence in national conventions and in politics back home where the convention delegates are selected. In any event, Vice President Nixon still is very much in the running and is the concentrated target for the assorted left-wingers, Pinkos as represented by the National Committee for an Effective Congress and the Americans for Democratic Action. I respectfully call your attention to the political influence that is being exerted constantly by the Fund for the Republic itself, Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board indirectly and frequent contact with the President of the United States himself.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

March 8, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
MARCH 8, 1956

Fulton Lewis, Jr., devoted the majority of his broadcast tonight to the Senate Committee on Lobbying headed by Senator Gore. Lewis said that such outfits as the Americans For Democratic Action, the Committee for an Effective Congress and the Fund for the Republic were all very happy when this select committee was first formed to inquire into contributions made by oil interests. Lewis said they quickly lost their enthusiasm when they learned that the select committee would branch out considerably in their hearings and that the possibility of subpoenas being issued to such individuals as Joseph Rauh of the Americans For Democratic Action and General Telford Taylor of the Committee for an Effective Congress has caused these men to backtrack and oppose the efforts of the lobbying committee.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631
cc - File #100-391697

JTM:mcb
(8)

Mr. Nichols March 7, 1956

Mr. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
MARCH 7, 1956

OEmd During his broadcast, Mr. Lewis referred to the Ford Foundation for the Republic parenthetically in speaking of the chances of Vice President Nixon succeeding himself. Mr. Lewis stated that Mr. Nixon is a symbol of action against left wingers, and stated that Paul Hoffman, head of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation and patron saint of Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, is against Mr. Nixon for Vice President. Mr. Lewis added that, therefore, so were Hutchins, The Americans for Democratic Action, The Committee For An Effective Congress and the Communist Party. Mr. Lewis was highly critical of Mr. Hoffman, accusing him of left-wing and ultra-liberal ideas.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Branigan
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631
cc - file #100-391697

C.C.Mumeh
(9)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Mr. Nichols March 6, 1956

M. A. Jones

[illegible] 1, 1956

Regarding the Fund, Lewis mentioned that it had recently created the Robert E. Sherwood awards for television programs dealing with liberty and freedom as presented on commercial television. One of the awards for $20,000 is for the best network drama, another for $20,000 is for the best network documentary and the third for $15,000 for the best production of either type produced by an independent station.

Describing this award racket as old stuff, Lewis continued that this was a method of giving left wingers respectability and prestige. Lewis then mentioned an article by Joseph T. Shipley in "The New Leader." This article complains about the Foundation's latest activities. He said this article was captioned "Fund for the Republic Huffs Again." According to Lewis, only one of the nine judges who is responsible for these awards had any knowledge of the theatre. He said this judge was a fellow by the name of Kermit Bloomgarden. This article states that Bloomgarden's career has been marked by membership in a number of front organizations. Lewis said that Shipley's article wanted to know just what justification there could be for selecting a man with such a background as Bloomgarden's as a judge on the Sherwood award jury. In conclusion, Lewis said this was just another example of the Fund's encouragement of left-wing activities.

[illegible]

None. This is for your information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, 7631

Recommendation:
(c)
cc - File 100-391[illegible]97

[illegible] MAR 9 1956

[illegible] 2 MAR [illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

MR. A. H. BELMONT March 2, 1956

MR. R. R. ROACH

Fil (in the Bufile)

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
MISCELLANEOUS
INFORMATION CONCERNING (LIAISON)

Bureau has received an anonymous undated letter alleging that Hutchins, when Chancellor of the University of Chicago either in the year 1936 or 1937, was called before a committee of the Illinois Legislature at Chicago following a world-wide conference of youth at the college campus, and when asked if he was a Communist, answered: "Yes, what of it?"

As indicated in my memorandum to you 2/29/56, the Chicago Division by airtel 2/27/56 stated that according to local newspapers for May and June, 1935, an Illinois State Senate Committee held hearings in Chicago to determine the extent of Communist influence, if any, at the University of Chicago. Articles reflected Hutchins testified before Committee 5/13/35; however, no mention was made in articles to substantiate above allegations in referenced anonymous letter. The Springfield Division is attempting to obtain transcript of testimony before afore-mentioned Senate Committee and/or report reflecting results of hearing in an effort to prove or disprove allegation made by anonymous letter. It is noted that the Chicago and New York Divisions are also conducting inquiry to determine date World-Wide Youth Conference held at University of Chicago campus and the subsequent hearings by Illinois Legislature at Chicago, as indicated in referenced anonymous letter. The Director noted: "Let me know outcome. H."

Attached is an airtel to the Chicago Division, with copies for the Springfield and New York Divisions, stating that this matter should be expeditiously handled and a reply submitted to reach the Bureau on or before 3/9/56.

ACTION:

If you approve the attached airtel will be sent to the Chicago, Springfield, and New York Divisions.

100-368336
Enclosure
cc: 1mm (5)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Yellow (100-391697)
1 - Mr. Young

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Tamm
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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

NOT RECORDED
20 MAR 6 1956

56 MAR 16 1956

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FD-36

Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Mintz
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Date: 2/29/56

Transmit the following message via Airtel

AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, San Francisco (100-24527)

To: Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

SAN FRANCISCO COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY
IS - X

Reayairtels 2/2,3,6/56, captioned Fund for the Republic, and teletype 2/9/56, captioned as above, and Bureau teletype 2/10/56.

Pursuant to your teletype of 2/10/56, Mr. [redacted] the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity program entitled "Barrier", was advised that the invitation extended by him to the SAC to appear on the program mentioned in SF teletype of 2/9/56, was appreciated, but that it was felt that it was not appropriate to attempt to state the position of the Department of Justice on the Civil Rights aspects of search and seizure and the use of electronic listening devices by law enforcement agencies. Mr. [redacted] stated that he regretted that the SAC was unable to appear on the program but was appreciative of the consideration given to his request.

b6
b7C

[redacted] furnished additional information concerning the format of the program to be presented on "Barrier" on 3/4/56 dealing with wire tapping. He stated that he recently [redacted] the Don Rivers Studio, located in the Terminal Hotel, 110 Market St., SF. [redacted] scene [redacted] an office and making an examination of the premises and later placing a microphone under a desk. The wire from the microphone was placed under the rug. Photographs were also made of a close up of a contact microphone, tools and leater tool holder ordinarily worn by telephone linemen, radio shortwave transmitters and a minifon recorder.

b6
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b7D

Another scene showed photographs of a man in a basement testing a series of wires. The last scene photographed was of an individual in a telephone booth holding a magnetic pick-up coil against the partition of the next booth. The coil was attached to the minifon recorder to show the possibilities of overhearing and recording telephone conversations in an adjoining booth.

Mr. Belmont

3 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco

NOT RECORDED
159 MAR 12 1956

63 MAR 15 1956

Transmit the following message via _____

_____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC,

To:

PAGE TWO

[redacted] stated that he was given $15 as expense money for the use of his equipment. He had been previously advised that the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity could not afford to pay him at the regular fee for his services. b7D

[redacted] stated that he will continue to advise of any additional activity by him for the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity and the Bureau will be fully informed of any pertinent developments.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

MR. A. H. BELMONT

February 29, 1956

MR. D. M. ROACH

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

Bureau has received an anonymous undated letter alleging that Hutchins, when Chancellor of the University of Chicago in 1936 or 1937, was called before the Committee of the Illinois Legislature at Chicago and when asked if he was a Communist, answered: "Yes. What of it?" Hutchins is President of the Fund for the Republic.

Bureau airtel 2/21/56 requested Chicago Division to verify above allegations. Chicago Division by airtel 2/27/56 stated that "Chicago Daily Tribune" carried articles in May and June, 1935, reflecting Illinois State Senate Committee held three hearings in Chicago to determine extent of Communist influence, if any, at the University of Chicago. Articles reflected Hutchins testified before Committee 5/13/35; however, no mention was made in articles to substantiate above allegation in referenced anonymous letter. Articles reflected further that report submitted by Committee on 6/26/35 generally cleared University of Chicago of indoctrinating students in Communism.

The Springfield Division is attempting to obtain transcript of testimony before above-mentioned Senate Committee and/or report reflecting results of hearing in an effort to prove or disprove allegation in referenced anonymous letter.

ACTION:

For your information. This matter is being closely followed by the Liaison Section and you will be immediately advised of pertinent developments.

100-368336

FCY:lmm
(5)

"Let us know when ready"
H.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Yellow (100-391697)
1 - Mr. Young

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

100-371477

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46 MAR 6 1956

62 MAR 15 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED S[illegible] GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nich[illegible]

DATE: February 28, 1956

FROM : M. A. [illegible]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST FEBRUARY 28, 1956

During Mr. Lewis's broadcast on Tuesday night, February 28, 1956, he stated that the Ford Foundation has said in the past that they have no control over the $15,000,000 grant to the Fund for the Republic and that this grant was made with "no strings attached." According to Lewis, the first part of the statement is correct, but the second part is not true. He stated that "strings" are attached and that they are in the hands of the U. S. Government.

According to Lewis, he had been unable to obtain any information regarding the tax exempt terms under which the Fund for the Republic operates until yesterday (Monday, February 27, 1956). He stated he has learned that the Bureau of Internal Revenue Service is currently conducting investigation into the Fund regarding its tax exempt status, although to date he knew of no action which has resulted. He continued that yesterday he came into possession of a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Ford Foundation which was held from February 23 to 26, 1953, and was concerned with the grant to the Fund for the Republic. Lewis stated that these minutes reflect that if the Fund looses its tax exempt status, then the Fund must return to the Foundation the balance of any money granted by the Ford Foundation.

Lewis continued that if the Bureau of Internal Revenue Service finds that the Fund is not tax exempt then the money will have to be returned. Lewis insisted that it now is up to the "Federal Bureau of Internal Revenue" to make the decision and the ruling. He added that W. H. Ferry has stated that the Fund for the Republic is not an educational project but a project of acts, and that, in Lewis's opinion, this should be enought to remove the tax exempt status.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

MAR 1 1956

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631

94-4-2189

NOT RECORDED

FJH:nma
(8)
cc - File 100-391697

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 3/19/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
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Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

I was confidentially informed Friday afternoon, 3/16/56, that [redacted] who have been investigating the Fund for the Republic, have now completed their investigation [redacted]

Referral/Consult

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
(4)

RECORDED - 19

100-391697-355

MAR 23 1956

100-418787

LIBSON

MAR 28 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI. DATE: 3/20/56

ATT.: ASST. TO DIR. L. B. NICHOLS

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK. (62-11599)

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC., INFORMATION CONCERNING.

There is attached hereto a copy of a letter dated 3/16/56, received from DAVID A. SHANNON, which is self-explanatory. The communication of Mr. SHANNON was acknowledged and he was advised that the information he has furnished is being made a matter of record in the files of the New York Office. The files of the New York Office contain no information on DAVID A. SHANNON.

2 - BUREAU (1 Encl.)
1 - NEW YORK (62-11599)

BJC:DJG
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-21-89 BY

INDEXED-16

100-391697-356

RECORDED-16

23 MAR 26 1956

100-391697

NICHOLS

CRIME REC.

ENCLOSURE

63 MAR 28 1956

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

C O P Y

March 16, 1956

Please reply to
255 West 108th Street
New York 25, N.Y.
Tel. RIverside 9-6734

Federal Bureau of Investigation
290 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Sirs:

The purpose of this letter is to inform you that I am engaged in writing a history of the Communist Party of the United States since 1945 and that I should not like the FBI to misinterpret what may appear to be questionable activities on my part while I am gathering information.

I have today, for example, subscribed to the Daily Worker and the Worker as an aid in my research. I may be interviewing CP members and other questionable people. I can not now fully anticipate all I may be doing in my research that would on the surface appear dubious, but I want you to understand that my purposes are strictly scholarly.

Sincerely yours,

s/ DAVID A. SHANNON

356

2 - Orig & dup.
1 - yellow
1 - section tic
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Mr. Woods

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

March 27, 1956

DIRECTOR, FBI

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Reference is made to previous memoranda concerning the Fund for the Republic, Inc., advising of the panel members designated by the Fund to select dramas and documentaries appearing on television for awards totaling $55,000. Gardner Cowles, publisher of "Look" magazine, was one of the individuals designated by the Fund.

This Bureau's files reflect that by memorandum dated July 28, 1955, you were furnished the results of an investigation of Mr. Cowles by this Bureau and the Civil Service Commission under the provisions of Public Law 298, 82nd Congress, completed in April, 1954. There was also enclosed a summary of an investigation covering his activities from April, 1954, to July, 1955. No investigation has been conducted since July, 1955.

Investigations revealed that four representatives from Des Moines, Iowa, attended the American Youth Congress in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in July, 1937. The expenses of these delegates were paid for through contributions by some prominent individuals in Des Moines, one of which was Gardner Cowles. It was also revealed that Cowles was a contributor to the June 22, 1943, issue of "New Masses" magazine wherein he described his around-the-world trip with Wendell Willkie in 1942, which included numerous comments favorable to the Soviet Union. The American Youth Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. "New Masses" was designated by the Attorney General in 1942 as being a "communist periodical."

RECORDED - 94 100-[illegible]-357

Howard Rushmore, feature writer, "New York Journal American," reported that James Porter, a Communist Party organizer, stated that Cowles "put pressure on" to obtain an auditorium in Des Moines, Iowa, during 1937 for the Communist Party and had helped the Communist Party in Iowa before that time. Porter, a former Communist Party member, advised he was district organizer of the Communist Party in Des Moines from 1934 to 1936. Porter advised he

WFW:vec
(10)

NOTE: Gardner Cowles is one of several individuals chosen by the Fund to select TV shows for awards. Information on others has been sent to the Department previously. Information on Cowles is contained in the running memorandum file in the Special Memoranda Unit of the Domestic Intelligence Division. Gardner Cowles and his brother John have long maintained cordial relations with the Director personally and with the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-4-89 BY [illegible]

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MAR 27 1956
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MAR 29 1956

had contacted Cowles to solicit his sponsorship for a Communist Party meeting to be held in behalf of loyalist Spain but was politely and definitely refused by Cowles. Porter stated Cowles never was a member of nor in sympathy with the Communist Party or any front group and to his knowledge never spoke in behalf of Russia.

Close acquaintances and prominent businessmen and persons in government stated Cowles is loyal, patriotic and highly recommended him as to character, reputation and associates.

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

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4:09 pm

March 27, 1946

47

MR. TOLSON
MR. BOARDMAN
MR. BELMONT
MR. NICHOLS

The Attorney General called and referred to the publicity today regarding the action of the Treasury Department in moving against the Communist Party and the Daily Worker for failure to pay back taxes levied against them. I told the Attorney General that we have been giving every assistance we could to the Treasury representatives and that I thought this action would cause real consternation to the Communist Party and its officials.

I mentioned to the Attorney General the public attack made by the National Lawyers Guild on my testimony before the House Appropriations Committee regarding the efforts by the Communist Party to enlist the aid of reputable counsel to defend the Party leaders. I also stated that I had noted an item in the New York papers to the effect that the New York City Bar has formed a committee to defend security risks and that this committee is being financed by the Fund for the Republic.

The Attorney General commented that he felt the action of the Treasury Department would be effective against the Communist Party and was a very good move.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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JEH:TLC
(7)

Mr. Nichols

March 23, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST
7:00 P.M., MARCH 22, 1956
RADIO STATION WWDC

Lewis in his broadcast of March 22, 1956, concluded the program by stating that the current issue of the liberal but anti-communist magazine entitled "New Leader" contains a 12-page article by Professor Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University, on the subject of "Robert Maynard Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago and presently President of the Fund for the Republic." Lewis stated this article is entitled "Six Fallacies of Robert Hutchins" and is a masterful job of debunking the phony intellectualism of Hutchins.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Young, 7631

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY 2028/SJC/lcp

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(5)

cc - FBI File 100-391697

100-391697
NOT RECORDED
20 MAR 26 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: March 26, 1956

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Nichols
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Tamm
Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY SP3STJ/aps

JJD:jlf (8)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt

RECORDED - 93 100-391697-358

EX-101

17 MAR 30 1956

APR 2 - 1956

The Attorney General

March 27, 1956

RECORDED - 94

INDEXED - 94

100-391697-359

Director, FBI

FORD FOUNDATION'S
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

I thought you would be interested in the attached Photostat of an item captioned "Law Panel to Aid Accused 'Risks'" which appeared in the March 26, 1956, issue of the New York World-Telegram and Sun.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

cc - Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins (with copy of enclosure)

cc - Mr. Boardman (with copy of enclosure)

cc - Mr. Belmont (with copy of enclosure)

cc - Mr. Nichols (with copy of enclosure)

GMP:pac:rm
(11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY 8383 STJ/aap

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COMM - FBI
MAR 28 1956
MAILED 20

APR 5 1956

RECEIVED SEALING ROOM
F. B. I.
APR 28 9 51 AM '56

DO-7

FROM

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson ( )
Mr. Nichols (✓)
Mr. Boardman (✓)
Mr. Belmont (✓)
Mr. Mason ( )
Mr. Mohr ( )
Mr. Parsons ( )
Mr. Rosen ( )
Mr. Tamm ( )
Mr. Holloman ( )
Miss Gandy ( )
( )

Send copies to D.A.G. Rogers & Dodphins

See Me ( )
Note and Return ( )
Prepare Reply ( )
For Your Recommendation ( )
What are the facts? ( )
Remarks:

RECORDED - 94 [illegible]

20 MAR 30 1956

359

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

Law Panel to Aid Accused 'Risks'

New York's legal profession has set up a panel of specially-trained lawyers to help federal government employees and industrial workers involved in security cases.

A spokesman for the New York County Lawyers' Assn. and the Assn. of the Bar of the City of New York said yesterday that in many security cases persons hit by charges "have not found it practicable to obtain counsel . . . because of the special training needed to properly defend these cases."

Other reasons for not getting a lawyer, he said, included "the expense involved."

Legal Referral Service, run by the two associations, set up the panel and will administer its program.

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., donated the funds to establish the panel, said the spokesman, H. H. Nordlinger, chairman of the two groups' joint committee on legal referral service.

The committee began its special training program for the panel attorneys in November.

Mundt 11 K
3-27-56
DAR

New York World-Telegram and Sun
March 26, 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/28/56

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-12078)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY

There is enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau a copy of a letter received on 2/16/56 from S. W. MILLER, Security Chief, Atomic Energy Commission, Portsmouth, Ohio. Mr. MILLER stated that this letter had been prepared and submitted by one KENNETH LeROY RITCHIE, an employee of the Goodyear Atomic Corporation in Portsmouth, Ohio.

RITCHIE's AEC Security File was subsequently reviewed, and it reflected that he had been employed as a machinist by the Goodyear Corporation since January 31, 1955, and had been granted a Q Clearance. He presently resides at 38 North Fork Drive, Chillicothe, Ohio. In addition, the file reflected that a neighborhood investigation by the Civil Service Commission at Arbutus, Maryland, developed information that RITCHIE was considered "nervous, tense, moody, and of questionable mental stability".

RITCHIE was thereafter interviewed at the AEC Installation by an Agent of this Division, and he advised that he had no further information to offer other than the fact that he was concerned over the statements he attributed to Mrs. PETERSON and her insistence on obtaining speakers from the American Civil Liberties Union to discuss the degree of infringement of civil liberties caused by present Government loyalty checks.

Through investigation at Columbus, Ohio, it was determined that Mrs. PETERSON was identical with HELEN PETERSON, the wife of Professor ALVAH PETERSON, 2039 Collingswood Road, Columbus, Ohio, who is associated with Ohio State University in the Entomological Department.

2 - DIRECTOR (Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - CINCINNATI (100-12078)

DFG:mak
(3)

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED - 77 100-391697-360

INDEXED - 76

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50 APR 3 1956

DIRECTOR, FBI 3/28/56

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

The only information in Cincinnati files concerning Mrs. PETERSON is information to the effect that in 1941 she was a member of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Committee on Legislation Affecting Civil Liberties.

With regard to the remaining names in RITCHIE's letter, tentative identification was made of Mrs. JOHN BAUERS, residence 411 East Whittier Street, Columbus, and Mrs. THEODORE SCHOONMAKER, wife of Reverend THEODORE C. SCHOONMAKER, 47 West Bridge Street, Dublin, Ohio, a suburb of Columbus. A review of the indices of the Cincinnati Division contained no identifiable references to these individuals.

The foregoing is submitted for the information of the Bureau in order that the Bureau is aware of the current activities of the Fund for the Republic in the State of Ohio. No further investigation is being considered UACB.

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU:

Copy of Letter prepared by KENNETH LeROY RITCHIE, employee Goodyear Atomic Corp., Portsmouth, Ohio.

TITLE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)

CI 100-12078

RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY 3657 3/ag

100-391697-360 ENCLOSURE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 3/27/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-81 BY

M. J. Lowman, who is connected with the Methodist Circuit Riders organization, called me to advise that the National Student Association at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, within the past two weeks has met and has joined with other groups in exploiting the racial situations on college campuses. The Board of Regents in a four to two decision voted to suspend any fraternity or sorority after 1962 which maintained a segregated program. This was brought about by the campaigning of the National Students Association.

Lowman further stated that there has been another interesting development which has received considerable publicity wherein congregations of white churches are visiting on a given day colored churches and vice versa. This is being headed up by the Reverend James H. Robinson, a Negro Presbyterian minister who has a lengthy record, and the Reverend John Paul Jones who likewise has a lengthy record of affiliations with front organizations. Their records as disseminated by the Circuit Riders Association are attached hereto.

Lowman further told me that the Ford Foundation has made a grant of $50,000 for legal aid to the NAACP. (Lowman was not sure whether this was the Ford Foundation or the Fund for the Republic.) He stated, however, that the Ford Foundation has made available three quarters of a million dollars to be expended in the racial field, half of which is to be devoted to teaching whites to accept integration and the other half is to be devoted to teaching Negroes how to get integration. As a consequence, a boycott is breaking out in the South against the Ford Motor Company which Lowman stated would make the Montgomery, Alabama, boycott look like child's play.

Enclosures
cc - Mr. Belmont
Mr. Rosen

LBN:fc (4)

NOT RECORDED
140 APR 5 1956

APR 3 1956

EX APR 6 - 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

SE-32

361

EX-108

cc - Mr. [illegible]

cc - [illegible]

cc - Mr. Coardman (with copy of enclosure)

cc - Mr. Nichols (with copy of enclosure)

cc - Mr. Nichols (with copy of enclosure)

(11)

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0-19 (11-22-55)

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Elected by Fund For Republic

Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington lawyer and editor of "Case Studies in Personnel Security," a publication sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, Inc., yesterday was elected secretary of the fund, it was announced by Robert M. Hutchins, Fund president.

Mr. Yarmolinsky was a law clerk to Associate Justice Stanley F. Reed, of the United States Supreme Court, before he entered private law practice. He joined the fund staff in October, 1955.

Two new vice-presidents elected are: David F. Freeman, who will handle administrative matters, and Frank K. Kelly, in charge of public information. W. H. Ferry, a vice-president of the fund since 1954, was named vice-president in charge of planning and programming.

The Fund for the Republic describes itself as an independent, non-profit corporation established to promote the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Send copies to A.G.; Program & Legislative.

12

100-391697-

20 APR 3 1956

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date

RECORDED-16

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 66-101460-7

Memo to AG 3-27-56

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-4-89 BY

EX-108

The Attorney General

April 4, 1956

Director, FBI

BOND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-4-89 BY [illegible]

Information has been received from a source, believed to be reliable.

Referral/Consult

The files of this Bureau fail to reflect any derogatory information regarding

RECORDED - 76

100-391617-362

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Holloman
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CDD:hpf:jfm
(8)

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

COMM - FBI
APR 5 1956
MAILED 31

APR 9 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

The Attorney General

Our source was assured that his information would be retained in confidence and that nothing would be done to reveal the identity of the source of this information. The above facts are being furnished to you for your information.

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: April 2, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-4-89 BY

Tolson
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Gandy

SUBJECT: EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER

On March 12, 1956, the Bureau received a letter from Phillip S. Gelb, Special Events Director for Radio Station KUOM on the Campus of the University of Minnesota. Gelb advised that he is to produce a series of radio shows dealing with civil rights under a grant from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB). He enclosed a press release put out by the NAEB dated January 30, 1956, in which it was stated that a grant of $4,700 for the production of these shows originated with the Educational Television and Radio Center.

The Minneapolis Office was requested to conduct a background inquiry on Gelb and this project. In this connection, they interviewed William L. Nunn, Director of University Relations at the University of Minnesota, on March 21, 1956. Nunn advised them concerning the grant of $4,700 that it had been awarded to KUOM by the Educational Television and Radio Center which he went on to describe as "a part of the Ford Foundation, which is presided over by Robert Maynard Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago." A Jones to Nichols memorandum dated March 29, 1956, captioned "Request to meet the Director, Phillip S. Gelb, etc." was prepared setting forth the background information disclosed by the inquiries of the Minneapolis Office. In compressing the above material for use in the synopsis, Hutchins' alleged connection with the "outlet of the Ford Foundation" was unfortunately given as a flat statement rather than referred to its original source. In this connection, the Director inquired: "How has Hutchins gotten back into Ford Foundation. H."

Bufiles contain no references identifiable with the Educational Television and Radio Center. It is not mentioned in the Annual Report of the Fund for the Republic dated May 31, 1955, and there is no information presently at hand to indicate a link between an organization by that name and either the Ford Foundation or the Fund for the Republic. There is no indication in Bufiles that Hutchins has re-entered the Ford Foundation subsequent to his resignation as Associate Director of that organization in June, 1954, to accept the position of president of the Fund for the Republic.

It is considered most likely that Nunn, during his interview with Bureau Agents in mentioning the Ford Foundation, actually intended to refer to the

117 APR 10 1956

cc - Mr. Belmont
RGE:nma

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CRIME REC.

58 APR 12 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Fund for the Republic which has been active in commending television productions for their featuring of material in the field of civil rights.

This memorandum has been prepared in response to the Director's inquiry.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: March 30, 1956

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ACTION

Tolson
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Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

CONFIDENTIAL

SYNOPSIS:

Pursuant to the Director's request of March 28, 1956, Bufiles were reviewed concerning a group of New York attorneys who have reportedly trained a special panel of lawyers to help defend Federal employees and industrial workers in security risk cases, under a $15,000 grant from the FFR.

Bufiles reflect the following re attorneys connected with the panel: Richard Haydock, no record. Stephen Vladeck, no pertinent information. H. H. Nordlinger, not investigated by Bureau; possibly identical with one H. H. Nordlinger, New York City, member of National Lawyers Guild (NLG) in 1938, and on mailing list of New York Conference for Inalienable Rights in 1941, organization cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). Montague Casper, subject of applicant-type investigation 1956, revealing nothing derogatory except wife registered in 1948 with American Labor Party; his brother signed Communist Party nominating petition, 1945. David I. Shapiro, not investigated by Bureau; has served as counsel for several individuals at loyalty hearings. Benjamin C. O'Sullivan, not investigated by Bureau; possibly identical with individual, same name, who in 1947 was in contact with various subjects in Silvermaster Espionage Case; an individual, possibly his wife, was employed by Washington Bookshop Association (cited by Attorney General) early 1940's. Rowland Watts, served 3-year term as conscientious objector during World War II; was investigated 1950 for impersonating FBI Agent, however, impersonation denied by Watts and prosecution was declined; from 1947 to 1955 was connected with organizations cited by Attorney General, as speaker, endorser and fund raiser; from 1951 to 1954 represented a number of seamen screened off merchant ships as security risks; August of 1955 completed survey of Army Military Personnel Security Program under grant from FFR. Murray Gordon, subject of applicant-type investigation 1944, revealing nothing derogatory; subject of current security-type investigation on basis he was visited in December, 1955, by contact of suspected Soviet agent; was attorney for Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (cited by Attorney General) 1947-1949; active member NLG 1951-55; has represented individuals at loyalty-security hearings, 1951-55.

100-391697
RTY:vde/lmm
(8)

1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Gestenson
1 - Mr. Wichler
1 - Mr. Young

100-391697-363

RECORDED - 67

20 APR 11 1956

Declassify on: OADR

APR 10 1956

ACTION:

None. For your information.

CONFIDENTIAL

DETAILS:

Pursuant to the Director's request on March 28, 1956, Bufiles have been reviewed concerning a group of New York attorneys who have reportedly trained a panel of lawyers to help defend Federal employees and industrial workers in security risk cases, as indicated in an article appearing in the March 26, 1956, issue of "New York Times."

According to the above article the panel was set up by the New York County Lawyers Association and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York about a year ago under a $15,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. Members of this panel will be made available through the Legal Referral Service, 36 West 44th St., New York City, headed by Richard Haydock. The panel, consisting of approximately 25 lawyers, has been trained under a program directed by David I. Shapiro. According to a statement by H. H. Nordlinger, chairman of the association's Joint Committee on Legal Referral Service, Shapiro was assisted by Stephen Vladeck, Murray Gordon, Montague Casper, Benjamin C. O'Sullivan and Rowland Watts.

Bufiles reflect the following information concerning the above-named individuals:

RICHARD HAYDOCK

Bufiles contain no record of this individual.

STEPHEN VLADECK

Bufiles fail to reflect any pertinent information identifiable with this individual.

CONFIDENTIAL

H. H. NORDLINGER

Nordlinger was born in 1893 and admitted to practice law in 1915. He is a graduate of Columbia University and is a member of the law firm of Nordlinger, Riegelman, Benetar and Charney, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City. He is a member of the American Bar Association. The rating given both him and his firm is "very high." (Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory 1954-55)

Nordlinger has not been investigated by this Bureau. Our files reflect that an unidentified source reported that the name H. H. Nordlinger of New York City (not further identified) in March, 1938, appeared on a list of alleged leaders of the National Lawyers Guild on a letter directed to the President requesting him to lift the embargo against Spain. The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944. (61-7559-2748 p. 4)

An anonymous informant in a position to furnish reliable information reported that the name H. H. Nordlinger was on the mailing list of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights in 1941. The informant did not know Nordlinger and could furnish no additional information concerning him. The above conference was cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities report of March 29, 1944, p. 14. (138-2287-5) JGS:jcb

MONTAGUE CASPER

Casper was born November 28, 1902, in New York City. He attended New York University from 1921 to 1924 where he received a Bachelor of Laws degree. He was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1925. He practiced law in New York until January 25, 1956, when he was entered on the rolls of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, on a when-actually-employed basis.

At the request of the late Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, this Bureau instituted an applicant-type investigation concerning Casper in January, 1956. The investigation was favorable except for revealing that his wife, Hazel Casper, registered a preference for the American Labor Party in 1948. His brother, Richard S. Casper, and wife, Ella Casper, signed Communist Party nominating petition in 1945. No other derogatory information was developed regarding Casper's family. (77-70472) WTW:jcb

DAVID I. SHAPIRO

David I. Shapiro appears to be identical with a lawyer of that name in the firm of Dickstein, Shapiro and Friedman, Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. This individual was born in 1928. We have conducted no investigation concerning him.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Shapiro is counsel for Kendrick McDowell Cole, whose employment at Department of Health, Education and Welfare was terminated 1/15/54, as a result of a SGE investigation. The Court of Appeals upheld Cole's dismissal, and the Supreme Court was scheduled to argue the case 3/6/56. No decision has been handed down as yet. The "New York Post" for March 16, 1955, in an article by Murray Kempton, refers to Shapiro as Cole's lawyer, and states, "This week Cole's plea goes to the U. S. Court of Appeals; it has become by now the key test case of the whole security program." (121-43550)

Shapiro has also served as counsel for Charles Weinfield, subject of a SGE investigation in 1955 (121-23899) and Ira S. Solet; LGE subject in 1954. (121-42429)

One David I. Shapiro, not otherwise identified, is mentioned in the "Daily Worker" for 7/29/54 as being joined by the Civil Liberties Union in appealing a case to the Army Discharge Review Board. (100-404571-5)

The "Daily Worker" issue of 10/17/55 contains an article concerning "loyalty-security" held under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild, NYC, in which the civilian program was covered by one David I. Shapiro, referred to as "the attorney now conducting a test case of the Government Employee Loyalty Program in the United States Supreme Court." (100-7321-A) BVG:jcb

BENJAMIN O'SULLIVAN

O'Sullivan has not been investigated by this Bureau. He may be identical with one Benjamin Cartwright O'Sullivan, born June 15, 1916, at Washington, D. C.; attorney; graduate Princeton University; former Government employee: Board of Economic Warfare, 1941-43, War Department, 1946, and State Department, 1946-48.

Informants who have furnished reliable information in the past advised O'Sullivan in contact on March 20, 1947 (purpose unknown), with David Wahl; name listed in address book of Mary Jane Keeney. Wahl and Keeney subjects of Silvermaster case. In 1947 was dinner guest at home of Henry Hill Collins, described by Whittaker Chambers as a member of the Communist Party underground, Washington, D. C., about 1935. (informants C-502; C-486; 121-3932; 124-3856-23)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

In 1941 one Benjamin O'Sullivan, a member of a delegation representing the American Law Students Association, addressed a meeting of the National Lawyers Guild (cited by Congressional Committee) held November 30, 1940, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, relative to a conference on law students' problems to be held in Washington, D. C., in December, 1940, and asked for the cooperation of the Guild. (informant anon.; 124-3856-23)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

O'Sullivan's wife, Sonya Schulberg O'Sullivan, a writer, was described as radical and unorthodox morally. One Sonya Schulberg, not definitely identified with wife of O'Sullivan, employed by Washington Bookshop Association (cited by Attorney General) in early 1940's. Sonya Schulberg toured the USSR in 1934 and 1935 with her brother, Seymour Wilson Schulberg, aka., Budd. Budd Schulberg subject of closed Security Matter - C investigation; one of early group of Hollywood writers who joined the Communist Party about 1937, and an admitted member until 1940; has also been active in numerous front organizations during 1930's and 1940's. (100-298871)

Father-in-law, Benjamin P. Schulberg, movie producer, reported in 1940 by John L. Leech, admitted former Communist Party organizer in Los Angeles County, to have been active worker for communist cause, and to have held a number of communist study groups at his home at Malibu Beach, California. (124-3856-26)
MSC:jcb

ROWLAND WATTS

Rowland Watts was born November 17, 1912, in Baltimore, Maryland. He obtained his Bachelor of Laws Degree from the University of Baltimore in 1938 and was admitted to the Maryland Bar in that year. From 1938 to 1942 he practiced law in Maryland. In 1942 he was president, Maryland Council for Conscientious Objectors. He served a three-year term as a conscientious objector during World War II. Since 1947 Watts has been national secretary of the Workers Defense League, (WDL), a defense movement of the Socialist Party organized in 1936 and similar to the International Labor Defense, the defense movement for the Communist Party.

In the Spring of 1950, the FBI conducted an investigation concerning Rowland Watts and two of his associates in the WDL who had allegedly represented themselves as FBI Agents while conducting investigations for the League regarding forced labor conditions in the State of Florida. Watts and his associates denied representing themselves as FBI Agents or other Government officials to any persons they interviewed. Watts stated he ordered his investigators to state that they were not connected with the FBI in any way but that they were going to turn over the information developed during their investigations to the FBI. Prosecution was declined because investigation failed to develop sufficient evidence of a positive nature indicating a violation of the Impersonation Statute.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Information received from informants and public sources from 1947 to 1955 reflects that although Watts is not known to be a member of any cited organization he has participated in the activities of organizations cited by the Attorney General, particularly organizations of a Trotskyite origin. He has participated in the presentation of these organizations' views to the Department for the purpose of having the organizations removed from the Attorney General's list; has helped raise defense funds for that purpose; and has participated in lectures sponsored by these organizations. In December, 1955, Watts was listed as a signer of a petition sent to President Eisenhower asking for a "Christmas amnesty" for the Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act and for the postponement of trials in more than 100 cases then pending. ("Daily Worker," 12/21/55, 100-3-74-14273) Watts has also participated in such miscellaneous activities as an anticonscription demonstration in 1947 and as an officer in 1952 of the War Resistors League, a pacifist organization. From 1951 to 1954 he represented a number of seamen who had been screened off merchant ships as security risks. As of September, 1955, he was the lawyer for the subject of an Army security risk case. (100-420435-6)

In August, 1955, the WDL released a two-volume report by Watts setting forth the results of his study of the effect on draftees of the Army Military Personnel Security Program, which study was completed under a grant-in-aid from the Fund For the Republic. This report dealt entirely with the military program affecting draftees and not with Bureau loyalty cases.

Bureau files reflect that in 1946 and in 1950 Watts was extremely critical of the way in which the Bureau conducted civil rights investigations. On May 17, 1950, the New York office was instructed that officials and personnel of the WDL were not to be interviewed without Bureau authority. It is noted that a number of civil rights and domestic violence cases have been opened by the Bureau on the basis of information furnished to us or to the Department by Watts as a representative of the WDL. However, inasmuch as he apparently claimed in 1951 that he had a "pipeline" into the FBI files in New York because he had on occasion furnished information to the New York FBI, Agents of that office were advised to limit themselves to receiving such information as he saw fit to furnish and to deliberately avoid conveying the impression that Watts and the WDL were cooperating with the Bureau. (All of the foregoing information, with the exception of that where a source is indicated, is set forth in my summary memorandum to you dated September 1, 1955, and a memorandum to the Attorney General dated September 15, 1955.) (100-419856-3; 100-391697-164) EJT:jcb

CONFIDENTIAL

MURRAY (ABRAHAM) GORDON

Gordon was born April 22, 1920, at New York City. He graduated from City College of New York in 1941, receiving a B. S. degree. Gordon received an LL.B. degree from Columbia Law School in 1944. In May of 1946 he was appointed as War Crimes Attorney, War Department, Nurenburg, Germany (date of termination unknown). Since 1950 he has been law partner of O. John Rogge, former Assistant Attorney General. (77-31150; 105-43725).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Gordon was the subject of a Departmental Applicant investigation (Junior Attorney, War Division, Alien Enemy Section) conducted by the Bureau in 1944. This investigation revealed nothing unfavorable. It is noted that Gordon was never employed by the Department, reason unknown to the Bureau. (77-31150)

[Gordon is the subject of a current security-type investigation instituted by the Bureau in January of 1956 on the basis he was visited in December of 1955 by Herman Starobin, a contact of Isidore Gibby Needleman, a suspected Soviet Agent. In addition, Gordon was a classmate of Starobin at the City College of New York in 1941.] During the investigation the New York office received information on March 23, 1956, from a highly confidential source (not for dissemination) to the effect that Needleman recently had lunch with Gordon; that Needleman in conversation with Starobin on March 23, 1956, stated that he had at one time attended a meeting of National Lawyers Guild during which Gordon suggested that the Guild should not hesitate to give the Attorney General the names of the "Reds" who were officers and members of the Guild. (Tesur (c) 105-43725, Referral/Consult

An article appearing in the September 11, 1947, issue of "La Prensa," a daily Spanish-language newspaper, identified Gordon as an assistant defense counsel for the Executive Board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC), an organization

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Information has also been received from a highly confidential source in January, 1948, and again in May, 1949, indicating that Gordon was still attorney for the JAFRC. (64-31267-46; Tesur; 100-7061-1541, 1546, 1584, 1552, 1902).

CONFIDENTIAL

During the period 1951-55 Gordon represented a number of individuals involved in loyalty-security hearings before the Industrial Employment Review Board, the Army Loyalty-Security Board, and Congressional Committees. Notably in this regard, he represented Earl Browder, former General Chairman of the Communist Party USA, in his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Eastland Committee) at Washington, D. C., on October 6, 1955. (100-369201-10; 100-368967-60; 105-43725-1; 62-88217-1777).

Gordon was an active member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) from 1951 through 1955, and during this period was a member of the National Executive Board and a member of the Board of Directors of the New York City chapter. His current activities in the NLG, if any, are unknown. Among his activities in the NLG, Gordon has openly protested (February, 1952) the right of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to inquire into the loyalty of attorneys, stating that lawyers should only be accountable to the courts and bar associations. In April, 1955 he openly attacked wiretapping of any kind and questioned the validity of any lower court authorizing wiretapping. ("Daily Worker's" of 5-27-53; 5-26-54; 2-10-52; 100-7321-824, 1180, 962, 747, 976, 817, 985, 570, 837, 1196, 1056, 1125, 1130, 1165, 1180, 1162).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2 - orig. & dupl
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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

April 4, 1956

DIRECTOR, FBI

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SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR [illegible]

G. R. -10

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to an article appearing in the March 28, 1956, issue of the "New York Times" the New York County Lawyers Association and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York announced the establishment of a special trained panel of lawyers available to help defend Federal employees and industrial workers in security risk cases.

It was announced that the program was started about a year ago under a $15,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. At least 25 lawyers have been trained for this panel since last November. They will be made available through the Legal Referral Service, 35 West 44th Street, New York City, headed by Richard Maydock. According to a statement made by [illegible] Lordlinger, chairman of the association's Joint Committee on Legal Referral Service, the panel has been trained under a program directed by David I. Shapiro. Shapiro was assisted by Stephen Wadeck, Murray Gordon, Lorraine Casper, Benjamin C. Whitman and Howland Watts.

The files of this Bureau reflect the following information concerning the above-named individuals:

RICHARD MAYDOCK

The files of this Bureau contain no record pertaining this individual.

STEPHEN WADECK

Our files fail to reflect any pertinent information identifiable with this individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

H. H. LORDLINGER

Lordlinger, currently a member of the law firm of Lordlinger, Stapleton, Benetar and Charney, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City, has not been investigated by this Bureau.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PCY:mlp
(10)

1 - 100-391697

NOTE ON YELLOW: Instant memo is being furnished to the Attorney General, Rogers, and Tompkins pursuant to the Director's notation on the memo from Belmont to Boardman dated 3-30-56 captioned "Fund for the Republic (FFR)."

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COMM — FBI
APR 5 - 1956
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6 JUL 30 1956

APR 16 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

Our files reflect that an unidentified source reported that the name S. A. Nordlinger of New York City (not further identified) in March, 1938, appeared on a list of alleged leaders of the National Lawyers Guild on a letter directed to the President requesting him to lift the embargo against Spain. The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944. (61-7559-2748 p. 4)

An anonymous informant in a position to furnish reliable information reported that the name S. A. Nordlinger was on the mailing list of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights in 1941. The informant did not know Nordlinger and could furnish no additional information concerning him. The Conference was cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities report of March 23, 1944, page 14. (138-2287-5)

NAMED IN CASPER

Casper practiced law in New York City until January, 1956, when he was employed by the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate. In connection with the latter employment this Bureau conducted an applicant-type investigation concerning him which revealed nothing unfavorable except the following:

His wife, Hazel Casper, registered a preference for the American Labor Party in 1948. His brother, Richard S. Casper, and wife, Nila Casper, signed a Communist Party nominating petition in 1945. (77-70472)

Concerning the American Labor Party, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that from the time of its inception in 1936, there existed within the American Labor Party a struggle for power among three groups. These were the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Social Democrats. By the early 1940's the Communist Party emerged as the controlling force

within the American Labor Party in the major industrial areas in New York State. Generally these were the areas around Albany, Buffalo, Jamestown, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Troy, the Hudson River Valley, Columbia, Ulster, Nassau and Westchester Counties and New York City with the exception of Brooklyn. In 1948 the Communist Party was able to capture the American Labor Party in Brooklyn. This informant knew that this situation had continued up until at least 1949. He stated that the American Labor Party never developed into an organization of any real consequence in the industrial areas of New York State. [redacted]

In July, 1954, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the Communist Party maintains in the past, through its members in key positions in the American Labor Party constitutes the force that controls it. [redacted] (U)

b7D

[redacted]

Shapiro appears to be identical with a lawyer of that name currently in the firm Michalein, Shapiro and Friedman, [redacted] Building, [redacted] Street, [redacted] York, New York.

No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau concerning Shapiro. Our files reflect that since 1 [redacted] he has served as counsel for several individuals involved in loyalty-security-type hearings. (121-43550; 121-42429; 121-23899; 100-404571-5)

[redacted]

[redacted] has not been investigated by this Bureau. He may be identical with one Benjamin Cartwright [redacted], born June 15, 1916, at Washington, [redacted] attorney; graduate Princeton University; former [redacted] employee, Board of Economic Warfare, [redacted] Department, [redacted] State [redacted].

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to the Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U) Informants who have furnished reliable information in the past advised that during 1947 O'Sullivan was in contact with various subjects of the Hiss-Chambers espionage ring. [redacted] (121-3932, 124-3856-23) b7D

In addition to the above our files indicate that one Sonya Schulberg, possibly identical with O'Sullivan's wife, Sonya Schulberg O'Sullivan, was employed in the early 1940's by the Washington Book Shop Association, an organization designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Sonya Schulberg toured the U.S.S.R. in 1934 and 1935 with her brother Seymour Wilson Schulberg, also known as Budd Schulberg, an admitted former Communist Party member 1937-1940. O'Sullivan's father-in-law, Benjamin M. Schulberg, was reported in 1940 by John L. Leech, an admitted former Communist Party organizer in Los Angeles County, to have been an active worker for the communist cause and to have held a number of communist study groups at his home at Malibu Beach, California.

(100-288871; 124-3856-26)

WALTER WATTS

A detailed summary of information in our files concerning Watts was furnished to you under date of September 15, 1955. Briefly, our files reflect that since 1947 Watts has been the national secretary of the Workers Defense League, a defense movement of the Socialist Party. Watts served a three-year term as a conscientious objector during World War II; participated in anticonscription activities in 1947; was affiliated with a pacifist organization in 1955; has been active in the campaign to have organizations of subversive origin removed from the Attorney General's list; and from 1951 to 1955 he represented seamen who had been screened off merchant ships as security risks. (100-419856-8)

In addition to the above our files indicate that according to the December 21, 1955, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, Watts was listed as a signer of a petition sent to President Eisenhower asking for a "Christmas amnesty" for the Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act and for the postponement of trials in more than 100 cases then pending. (100-3174-14273)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to the Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[illegible] (SECRET) [illegible]

Gordon, who since 1950 has been the law partner of C. John Cogge, former Assistant Attorney General, was the subject of a Departmental Applicant Investigation (Junior Attorney, War Division, Alien Enemy Section) conducted by this Bureau in 1944, which investigation revealed nothing unfavorable. It is noted that Gordon was never employed by the Department, reason unknown to this Bureau. (77-31150)

Gordon is the subject of a current security-type investigation instituted by this Bureau in January, 1950, on the basis he was visited in December, 1955, by Herman Starobin, a contact of Isidore Abby Needleman, a suspected Soviet agent. In addition, Gordon was a classmate of Starobin at the City College of New York in 1941. This matter is still currently under investigation. (105-43725)

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

An article appearing in the September 11, 1947, issue of "La Prensa," a daily Spanish-language newspaper, identified Gordon as an assistant defense counsel for the Executive Board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC), an organization designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Information has also been received from a highly confidential source in January, 1948, and again in May, 1949, indicating that Gordon was still attorney for the JAFRC. (64-31267-46; Tesur; 100-7061-1541, 1546, 1584, 1552, 1902).

Memorandum to the Attorney General

During the period [illegible] represented a number of individuals involved in loyalty-security hearings before the Industrial Employment Review Board, the Army Loyalty-Security Board, and Congressional committees. Notably in this regard, he represented Earl Browder, former General Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Eastland Committee) at Washington, D. C., on October 6, 1955. (100-369201-10; 100-368967-60; 105-43725-1; 62- 8217-1777)

Gordon was an active member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) from 1951 through 1955, and during this period was a member of the National Executive Board and a member of the Board of Directors of the New York City chapter. His current activities in the NLG, if any, are unknown. Among his activities in the NLG, Gordon has openly protested (February, 1952) the right of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to inquire into the loyalty of attorneys, stating that lawyers should only be accountable to the courts and bar associations. In April, 1955, he openly attacked wire tapping of any kind and questioned the validity of any lower court authorizing wire tapping. ("Daily Worker's" of 5-27-53; 5-26-54; 2-10-52; 100-7321-824, 1180- 962, 747, 976, 817, 985, 570, 837, 1196, 1056, 1125, 1130, 1165, 1180, 1162).

I - Mr. William A. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: April 10, 1956

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Glease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Reference is made to my memorandum of March 26, 1956, advising that Internal Revenue Service had just begun the audit of the Fund for the year 1955, having completed the years 1953 and 1954.

[redacted] confidentially advised our Liaison Representative April 9, 1956, that the tax exempt status decision on the Fund would not be made until after the November national election. [redacted] pointed out that the audit of the Fund to date does not reflect grounds to nullify its tax exempt status under the broad interpretation of the law which has been exercised by IRS in the past. If a narrower interpretation is used in the Fund case then many other organizations must necessarily also be removed from the tax exempt list. Such a decision would, of course, be very controversial and where possible is to be avoided between now and November. b7D

After completion of the audit, which is being handled [redacted] the matter will be referred to Assistant Commissioner Winkle for a recommendation on exempt status. It will then go to Chief Counsel, IRS, from there to the Commissioner, then to General Counsel Fred C. Scribner, who will make the final recommendation to the Secretary. Prior to his appointment, about a year ago, Scribner served as Chairman of the National Republican Party in the State of Maine. According to Clarence Tormoen, Assistant to the Secretary, Scribner has political ambitions and in a controversial situation is going to make the popular decision where possible. b7D

ACTION:

For your information.

What expediency!

JJD:jlf
(8)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt
1 - Mr. Young

100-391189-365

RECORDED - 40

20 APR 12 1956

EX - 107

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the course of Mr. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of Mr. [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible]. Mr. [illegible] [illegible] circle [illegible] placed in [illegible] of the nation [illegible]. This [illegible] is based on [illegible] [illegible] criminal, but little or nothing [illegible] brought to [illegible] [illegible] criminal [illegible] million dollar [illegible], the [illegible] of 80 [illegible] and [illegible]. He has received [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] with this [illegible], the [illegible] criminal. [illegible] received [illegible] of [illegible] during their [illegible], which makes us think of the case of [illegible] Jr., of [illegible], with his [illegible] sentence to [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] no difference between [illegible] narcotics and [illegible] and his probation to [illegible] [illegible] instead of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] lenient [illegible] as coming from the [illegible] when [illegible] their [illegible] effects. [illegible] into the background and activities of this [illegible] quite extensively in the last few [illegible] after [illegible] [illegible]. I think [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] University [illegible] million dollar [illegible] or visitor, or [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] public [illegible]."

[illegible]

|100-[illegible] 7-

NOT RECORDED
141 APR 1[illegible] 1956

Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

21393

DEFENSE SUPPLIED IN SECURITY CASES

Panel of Trained Lawyers Set Up by 2 Bar Groups With Grant of $15,000

Two major bar groups announced yesterday the establishment of a special trained panel of lawyers available to help defend Federal employes and industrial workers in security risk cases.

Growing out of the difficulty found by many such persons in obtaining counsel, the program has been started as a pilot project by a $15,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. The foundation had suggested the plan to the New York County Lawyers Association and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York about a year ago.

At least twenty-five lawyers have been trained for the panel since last November. They will be available through the Legal Referral Service, 36 West Forty-fourth Street, which has been maintained by the two bar associations for the last nine years for persons of moderate incomes. More panelists may be trained if required.

Supervision of Training

H. H. Nordlinger, chairman of the association's Joint Committee on Legal Referral Service, said the educational program had been directed by David I. Shapiro, aided by Stephen Vladeck, Murray Gordon, Montague Casper, Benjamin C. O'Sullivan and Rowland Watts. The trainer lawyers were believed to have handled at least 300 security cases themselves.

The training included four-hour lectures once a week. Defense Department and other Government experts took part. Most of those trained for the panel also helped handle a current security case under the training group's supervision, and the others are to have similar experience.

Mr. Nordlinger noted that Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, had estimated last fall that more than 8,000,000 Americans must undergo security procedures set up to protect the Federal Government.

Protecting Right to Counsel

"The right to counsel," Mr. Nordlinger said, "has been recognized in this country since Colonial times and is recognized in state and Federal Constitutions. Bar associations have found it necessary to point out that this right should be safeguarded even in unpopular cases.

"We have reason to believe that in many of these security cases persons under security charges have not found it practicable to obtain counsel because of the special training needed to defend these cases properly, or because the public erroneously identifies the lawyer with the client, or because of the expense involved or because of a combination of these reasons.

"The purpose of the panel is to assist in obtaining counsel in such cases. In cases of unusual hardship some contribution may be made to the cost involved."

The program will be supervised by Richard Haydock, executive director of the Legal Referral Service.

In a somewhat similar project, the Fund for the Republic has granted $10,000 to the Toledo, Ohio, Bar Association to continue its work in defending unpopular causes and in disseminating public information. A fund spokesman said yesterday that $5,000 was for the security risk field, but added that no special training was involved.

Press Release 12/30/56
Pg 4 Ltr

Have we any information on those mentioned?

100-391695

April 9, 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. BOARDMAN
MR. BELMONT
MR. NICHOLS

On Friday afternoon, April 6, I had a conference with the Attorney General, at which time a number of matters were taken up.

I also called to the Attorney General's attention the memorandum which I had sent him about the head of the Tax Exempt Section of the Internal Revenue Service. The Attorney General stated that he had read this memorandum and had noted that the head of that particular section of IRS had expressed some biased views as to the Fund for the Republic and as to the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Attorney General inquired of me as to whether there was any reason why he should not bring this matter to the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury and I told him that I thought it would be a good idea to do so, as otherwise it would seem that the work and recommendations of the investigators who have been looking into the tax exempt status of the Fund for the Republic would be arbitrarily overruled by the present head of the Tax Exempt Section of the Internal Revenue Service.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME
DATE
BY

- 5 -

100-391697-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY SP3C3J/ap

1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson DATE: April 2, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Clayton
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

My informal memorandum to you of 3-29-56 reflected the actions and statements of one Henry P. Needham, Internal Revenue official, at Los Angeles on 3-19-56, indicating opposition to removing the Fund from its tax exempt status. The Director noted, "Can't we find out if the Needham who was in L.A. is the same as the official in D.C.?"

It is believed they are one and the same. The Los Angeles Division informed, while discussing other matters, on 3-30-56, that Needham's name is not included among a list of Internal Revenue personnel in the Los Angeles area. [redacted] has advised in confidence that Needham is from the Washington headquarters of Internal Revenue and that he was in Los Angeles on 3-19-56 inquiring into the matter concerning the Fund For the Republic. Our Liaison Agent to Internal Revenue advises that Henry P. Needham, Washington, D. C., is currently Chief of the Pensions and Exempt Organizations Branch of the Internal Revenue Service.

b7D

As a matter of information, J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of The American Legion, told DeLoach 3-30-56 that he intended pressing hard in speeches and press releases for the Internal Revenue Service to announce their decision in this matter. Wagner thinks that the spotlight of publicity should bring forth some action.

ACTION:

For information.

I think we should send memo to A G re Needham.

cc - Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

CDD:jec
(4)

INDEXED-31
RECORDED-31

20 APR 11 1956

ADDENDUM: JJM:arm 4/2/56. The only way to definitely show this is one and the same person is to have Supervisor Daunt of the Liaison Section make additional contacts at the Internal Revenue Service here to see if Needham was in Los Angeles March 19 last. I hesitate to do this in a decentralized service such as Internal Revenue unless you so desire since it might cause some suspicion as to our reason for making the inquiry.

51 APR 16 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

March 29, 1956

Mr. Tolson:

RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

[redacted] and one of the leading figures in the American Legion on a national basis, telephonically contacted my office March 26, 1956, and in my absence spoke with DeLoach. [redacted] the Fund for the Republic and has spent considerable personal time in waging the battle against this organization. He told DeLoach that he was in Los Angeles on March 19, 1956, at which time there was held a meeting between Internal Revenue officials and officials of the Fund. At the meeting, an Internal Revenue official, Henry P. Needham, spoke up vigorously in favor of the Fund. [redacted] described Needham as the individual who originally made the recommendations to the Internal Revenue Service that the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) be removed from tax exempt status. Needham is now recommending that the IPR be placed back in a tax exempt status inasmuch as he thinks the Government and the Congressional investigating committees have mistreated Owen Lattimore. Needham was further quoted as stating that he wouldn't trust Whittaker Chambers under any circumstances. He made several additional remarks regarding matters of a security nature. [redacted] wanted to know if we could give him any guidance as to how Needham should be treated in connection with future meetings.

b7D

Files reflect little information concerning individuals under the name of Henry P. or Henry Patrick Needham. There was formerly a member of the Communist Party in New York City by that name but there is no information to reflect a connection between the Needham who is the Treasury Department employee and the member of the Communist Party. The Liaison Section advises that Henry P. Needham, Washington, D. C., is currently Chief of the Pensions and Exempt Organizations Branch of the Internal Revenue Service. He reportedly has a good organization and is an employee of lengthy service.

ENCLOSURE

INDEXED-31 RECORDED-5 100-391692-3

DeLoach mentioned the above facts to [redacted] on Tuesday, March 27, 1956. [redacted] stated at the time that he felt Needham would certainly attempt to block any recommendation which would serve to remove the Fund for the Republic from its tax exempt status. It was mentioned to [redacted] that he might decide to bring his information to the attention of certain individuals in Washington who have an interest in the activities of the Fund for the Republic. As you know, Fulton Lewis is currently organizing a group of Congressional representatives and educating them regarding the insidiousness of the Fund. [redacted] thought this was a good idea. He plans to be in Detroit the rest of the week and will come to Washington from Detroit either Tuesday or Wednesday of next week.

b7D

This matter will be followed closely.

Can we find out if the Needham who was in D.C. is the same as the official in D.C.

CDD:arm (2)

L. B. Nichols

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 4-4-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-7-89 BY [illegible]

[redacted] advised us in confidence 3-26-56 that P. Henry Needham, Chief of the Pensions and Exempt Organizations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, had made remarks which would indicate he did not favor removing the captioned organization from its tax exempt status. Needham made other remarks denouncing Whittaker Chambers and favoring the Institute of Pacific Relations. At the time he gave us this information, [redacted] advised that Needham made the mentioned remarks in Los Angeles at a meeting of Internal Revenue officials.

b7D

DeLoach saw [redacted] at 5:00 p.m. this afternoon in the office of J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion. [redacted] had just returned from a conference with Fulton Lewis. He first brought up the subject that he had originally informed us in confidence that the Internal Revenue meeting of 3-26-56 had occurred in Los Angeles. He stated he had since discovered this was an error, and the meeting had actually occurred in Washington, D. C. [redacted] sources were revealed [redacted] He stated these boys have gone all out for the American Legion and that he wanted to protect their identity under all circumstances. He was assured that we, of course, would not reveal the source of our information in this matter.

b7D

[redacted] proceeded to explain that the heads of the New York office of Internal Revenue were called to Washington by Henry P. Needham. Needham wanted to have a meeting for the purpose of discussing the recommendations of the New York office regarding removal of the Fund for the Republic from its tax exempt status. There were 5 men in attendance at the meeting. Two were for the removal of the Fund from its tax exempt status, 2 were on the fence and Needham was solidly against removal of the Fund. In addition to the statements he reportedly has made and which were reflected in my memorandum to you of 3-29-56, Needham additionally indicated that investigation by the New York Office reflected nothing which would cause removal of the Fund from its tax exempt status. The decision of the New York office was based upon a

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

100-311677-367

CDD:hpf
(5)
Enclosure

INDEXED-31

RECORDED-31

file 100-

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

1953 + 1954 audit of the Fund for the Republic. In view of the fact that there was a difference of opinion at the Committee meeting on 3-26-56, it was decided that the 1955 audit would be completed before final decision was reached in this matter. The date for completion for the 1955 audit is scheduled for 4-20-56, at which time a second meeting will be held and a recommendation made to the Secretary of the Treasury regarding removal of the Fund from its tax exempt status or not.

[redacted] informed Fulton Lewis contemplates advising Deputy Attorney General Bill Rogers of the above facts. He additionally plans to see what can be done regarding Needham's opinions in this matter. b7D

ACTION: In accordance with the Director's instructions noted on my memorandum 4-2-56, there is attached a memorandum to the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General regarding this matter. Our sources are, of course, protected.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 4/10/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Fulton Lewis told me late on the afternoon of 4/9/56, that he had lunch with Scott McLeod that day. They got to talking about the Fund for the Republic. Scott McLeod stated that he had called Scribner, General Counsel of the Treasury Department, about the Fund. Scribner stated he was very sympathetic toward withdrawing the Fund's tax-exempt privilege; that Senator Bridges had called him last week. He had had occasion to look into the matter and that no steps had even been initiated to bring about the cancellation of the tax-exempt privilege of the Fund. Fulton Lewis stated this somewhat stunned him because it was inconsistent with the information furnished to him by T. Coleman Andrews, then Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service, and more recently by [redacted]

b7D

His first step is to call [redacted] and see what additional information he can find out because apparently someone in Internal Revenue Service is passing on the wrong information to the secretary's office.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-5-81 BY SP3 STC/ap

RECORDED-66

INDEXED-66

100-371197-368

APR 12 1956

EX.-107

6 APR 23 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: April 17, 1956

FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-24074) CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INCORPORATED
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

Rebulet to New York dated December 17, 1952, captioned "FORD FOUNDATION, INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)" Bureau File 100-391697.

By written report concerning a meeting of the members of the Independent Socialist League in Detroit on April 6, 1956, [redacted] furnished the following information (4) b7D

B. J. WIDICK (Detroit ISL member) stated that he was going to make a trip to Washington, D.C., to interview VICTOR REUTHER and EMIL MAZEY and others. WIDICK said that he was writing a book which would be a series of interviews of important people in the Socialist and Communist movements and which would be a report on the CP. WIDICK also said that when he first took this assignment he thought he would go to New York to interview people there. WIDICK then stated that the Fund for the Republic was financing his trip (4)

[redacted] orally advised on April 9, 1956, that from the nature of the conversation concerning the above, he believed that WIDICK was receiving the money directly from another individual who had commissioned WIDICK to write the book. The money WIDICK was to receive originally came from the Fund for the Republic, however (4) b6 b7C b7D

The above information was received by SA [redacted], on April 9, 1956, and the original report is located in Detroit File [redacted] (4)

The above is for the information of the Bureau, and any additional information received will be furnished to the Bureau.

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - Detroit
(1 - 100-24074)
(1 - [redacted] (4)) b7D

LMC:JEP
(4)

RECORDED-61

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3 DJB ON 8-7-89

CONFIDENTIAL

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nich

DATE: April 12, 1956

FROM : M. A

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
APRIL 12, 1956

Mr. Lewis devoted approximately five minutes of his program time tonight to a discussion of the "background" of Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation and of the Fund for the Republic. He pointed out that in the year Hoffman has been head of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, that company has lost over $29,700,000 during 1955 while Hoffman was drawing a salary of $100,000 a year. He also mentioned that Hoffman has an option to buy 25,000 shares of Studebaker stock for a figure of approximately $1 a share below the market price. Mr. Lewis described Hoffman as a vain individual who has vice presidential or presidential aspirations. Mr. Lewis quoted him as telling friends and acquaintances that he underwrites the activities of Robert M. Hutchins "all the way" in connection with the Fund for the Republic, even to the point of hiring communists. Mr. Lewis reported that Hutchins was the author of a World Constitution and pointed out that Hoffman made a speech today saying that we should multiply many times over our present economic aid to the less fortunate nations of the world. He found this difficult to take in view of the following:

Mr. Lewis pointed out that the White House is sounding out the Republican leaders in the Senate with the objective in mind of appointing Hoffman as an American representative to the United Nations.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

7 APR 17 1956

RGE:sakak
(7)

NOT RECORDED
46 APR 18 1956

Mr. Nichols

April 12, 1956

4

L. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
APRIL 11, 1956

On his newscast on April 11, 1956, Lewis noted that Robert Blanchard and his wife, Winifred, recently fired television artists in New Orleans, had pleaded the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He then mentioned that Robert Thompson, one of the top communist fugitives captured in California, had been going under the name of John Francis Brennan. He noted that a John Francis Brennan was a brother of Mrs. Blanchard and that he had been a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and had committed suicide in about 1948. Subsequently, he said, the Blanchards had received a birth certificate for the brother, and later Thompson ended up using this alias.

Lewis also noted that Arthur Dehrstock had also pleaded the Fifth Amendment and that information came up that Dehrstock was a publicity man for the March of Dimes. According to Lewis, Senator Watkins unsuccessfully attempted to keep this affiliation quiet.

Lewis also said that plans were in the making to recommend Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic and personal sponsor for the president of this outfit, Robert M. Hutchins, to the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations. Lewis said he would have a full background account of Hoffman on his broadcast of April 12, 1956.

100 - 391697
NOT RECORDED
141 APR 13 1956

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8357 JAS

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

LJH:rcw
(7)

Mr. Tolson [illegible] April 1[illegible], 1956

[illegible] Nease

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-79 BY SP3 BTJ/ajs

[illegible], 1956

During the course of Mr. [illegible] broadcast [illegible] [illegible] Justice' time to Mr. Hoover's [illegible] this morning. Mr. Lewis stated: [illegible] [illegible] probation practices [illegible] areas [illegible] [illegible] of our time. [illegible] sentimentality, which [illegible] has little or nothing [illegible] and its race to [illegible] statistics [illegible] in one [illegible] crime [illegible] individuals, responsible for a [illegible] million dollar hold [illegible] received [illegible] [illegible] sentences [illegible] for [illegible] crime. [illegible] received [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Lewis, has [illegible] it all, [illegible] received [illegible] occasion during their career, which makes me think of the [illegible] Judge Charles [illegible], Jr., of [illegible], with his [illegible] sentences to dope peddlers and narcotic operators and his statement, later [illegible] when it was given publicity, that he saw no difference between selling narcotics and selling bootleg whiskey, and his [illegible] to [illegible] the narcotics field [illegible] his [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] of the Communist Party. [illegible] It isn't too much difference [illegible] between [illegible] [illegible] from the bench and the lenience, which Mr. [illegible] talking about today, [illegible] from the [illegible] their ultimate effect. [illegible] activities of this [illegible] quite extensively [illegible] after [illegible] [illegible] because, he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] still [illegible] overseer or visitor, or [illegible] has [illegible]."

[illegible]

cc - Mr. Boardman [illegible] - Mr. [illegible]
[illegible] - Mr. [illegible] [illegible] - [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

NOT RECORDED
176 APR 18 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: April 13, 1956

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY SP3 [illegible]

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
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Parsons
Rosen
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Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Reference is made to my memorandum of April 10, 1956, advising of the status of the Fund's tax exemption case in the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). [redacted] advised Liaison April 13, 1956, that he had received an inquiry as to the status concerning this matter from Fred C. Scribner, General Counsel, Treasury Department, on April 12, 1956. Scribner advised [redacted] that the investigation of the Fund should be brought to a conclusion as quickly as possible. [redacted] estimated that it would take his organization about 60 days to finish their investigation and that the matter would be turned over to Assistant Commissioner Winkle for a determination as to whether or not the Fund qualifies as a tax exempt organization.

b7D

Assistant Commissioner (Technical) J. F. Winkle inquired of our Liaison Agent on April 12, 1956, whether or not the Bureau would be willing to furnish his office with the results of name checks of our files concerning questionable organizations, including the Fund for the Republic, who have applied to IRS for tax exempt status. Winkle pointed out that there would not be too many organizations in this category, advising that the National Office of IRS only made determinations of tax exempt status in instances where the organization is questionable such as those alleged to be communist connected.

Winkle pointed out that organizations cited by the Attorney General are automatically eliminated from a tax exempt status. He said there are many other organizations in what he called a "fuzzy" area, which claim status as educational organizations. These can only be denied, other than for technical tax reasons, if their publications or other media are determined to be propaganda to influence legislation or present opinion without pertinent facts which would permit an individual or the public to reach independent and informed conclusions. In addition, an organization claiming nonexempt tax status as an educational organization can be removed from the list if it participates or intervenes in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

JJD:jlf (8)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. L. N. Conroy
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt

RECORDED

100-316[illegible]-370

20 APR 19 1956

EX-108

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Winkle stated that he felt that name checks of Bureau files on individuals who produced the material published by such organizations would be helpful to them in their evaluation of its content. He stated that he wished to discuss this matter further with Commissioner Harrington and with his own people prior to requesting name checks of the Bureau.

It is felt that the Bureau should handle these name checks when requested by IRS since they are within the Executive Branch and the information in our files would be of value to them in making a determination within the scope of their authority. As pointed out by Winkle, the request would not be heavy in number; however, the volume will be watched. Winkle has been cautioned that the information as furnished to his office must be held in confidence within IRS.

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, we will handle these name checks for IRS when requested by that agency.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 4-17-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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Irving Ferman advised me on April 16 that he saw the minutes of a Board of Directors meeting of the Fund for the Republic on September 14, 1954, where the Board voted to table a proposal to investigate the FBI and other police agencies. Irving now thinks that when W. H. Ferry told him last summer that the Fund for the Republic was getting ready to investigate the Bureau, that Ferry had in mind reactivating the proposal which had previously been turned down.

LBN:hpf
(2)

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: April 19, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: JOEL I. SEIDMAN
INFORMATION CONCERNING
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
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Gandy

The Washington City News Service on April 13, 1956, reported that the Fund for the Republic has allotted $25,000 for producing a second addition of the "Bibliography of the Communist Problem in the United States." Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University will supervise preparation of the revised addition and Joel Seidman, University of Chicago, will be in charge of the project.

A memorandum has been prepared on Rossiter for inclusion in the running memorandum file on the Fund for the Republic. Bureau files reveal that no investigation has been conducted concerning Seidman, although there are several references to him. Seidman has been active in the League for Industrial Democracy (not cited), American Student Union (cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities), Keep America Out of War Congress (not cited), and the Socialist Party.

There is attached a memorandum of detailed information concerning Seidman's connection with the afore-mentioned groups.

ACTION:

That the attached memorandum be included in the Fund for the Republic running memorandum file.

Enclosure 1 ~~ENCLOSURE~~

WFW:lmm
(7)

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Mr. Woods

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY

RECORDED - 67
INDEXED - 67

100-391697-372

11 APR 24 1956

63 APR 27 1956

April 19, 1956

JOEL I. SEIDMAN

Summary

Joel I. Seidman, born July 29, 1906, in Baltimore, Maryland, and is presently on the faculty at the University of Chicago. Ill.

The League for Industrial Democracy pamphlet series, New York, has published the following articles written by Joel Seidman:

"Shall Strikes Be Outlawed?" 1938
"A Labor Party for America," 1936
"Sit - Down," 1937

In 1939 Seidman coauthored with Norman Thomas an article entitled "Russia - Democracy or Dictatorship." Bureau files indicated that Seidman during the late 1930's and early 1940's was very active in the League for Industrial Democracy, having at one time held the position of field secretary. (61-7562-2-855)

Walter F. Steele, editor of the "National Republic," when testifying before the Dies Committee, stated that the League for Industrial Democracy was the main propaganda and agitation agency of the Socialists.

The March 25, 1955, issue of "U.S.A. - American Bulletin of Fact and Opinion," relates:

"The League for Industrial Democracy doesn't want public attention drawn to the fact that from 1905 until 1920 the organization was called 'The Intercollegiate Socialist Society.' The motive for this name changing was a strong one. Even in 1921 at the tender age of 16 the organization's record was so bad and public reaction against alien radicalism was so strong, that the members found it wise to adopt a collective alias...

WFWoods:lmm
(8)

100 - 396[illegible] - 3[illegible]

ENCLOSURE

"Under any name the L.I.D. is socialist and whenever the old-time members of the Executive Board found it expedient they formed a united front with communists and procommunists." (61-524-90)

The October, 1937, issue of the "National Republic" magazine in commenting on the American Federation of Teachers reported that during their annual convention at Madison, Wisconsin, in August, 1937, Dr. Bella Dodd, New York delegate, made a motion that all assembled stand silent in respect to the electrocuted anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. It was further reported that considerable more interest was shown at the convention in war, fascism, communism, economic royalists, dictators, labor disputes, and left-wing politics in general than in the problem of teaching and education. Joel Seidman of Katonah, New York, was one of the 15 vice presidents elected at this convention. (61-7558-129)

In March, 1937, Joel Seidman was a member of the sponsoring committee of the American Student Union Alumni homecoming dinner in New York City. Invited to attend were graduates and participants in the American Student Movement who, by their efforts during the years of this century, have created and fostered a liberal tradition on the American campus. (61-7497-303)

The December 15, 1939, issue of "The Brooklyn Vanguard," (Brooklyn College newspaper) gave a list of the delegates of the American Student Union who were going to the Christmas week Fifth Annual Convention in Wisconsin. According to this newspaper, a topic discussed at this convention in Wisconsin was in the form of an open forum on the Soviet Union in which Earl Browder, General Victor Wakhontow, former czarist officer, and Joel Seidman, League for Industrial Democracy took part. (116-3092-3)

The Washington City News Service on December 28, 1939, reported that at a session of the American Student Union Earl Browder defended Russian invasion of Finland and listened attentively while Joel Seidman, secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, described the invasion as one of the most horrible things the Soviets have ever done. (61-7567-126X1)

The American Student Union has been cited as a communist front, which was "the result of a united front gathering of United States socialists and communists," in 1937 by a Special Committee on Un-American Activities report of January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

The "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" issue of November 4, 1938, published a list of candidates by political affiliation for state and national offices. Norman Thomas headed the list of the Socialist Party for Governor of New York and Joel Seidman was shown as a candidate for Congressional Representative from the 13th New York District. (61-7559-3299X1)

Joel Seidman was an instructor at the Debs Labor School in New York City during the fall term in 1938. The school maintained by the Socialist Party of America was officially opened by Norman Thomas. (61-7559-3517)

A letterhead entitled "New York Committee - Keep America Out of War Congress" dated September 25, 1940, lists Joel I. Seidman as a member of the New York Council. Jay Lovestone and Norman Thomas, among others, are shown on the letterhead as vice chairmen. (61-10123-18)

Referral/Consult

(100-364447-125)

Joel Seidman in August, 1951, was residing at 7248 Maryland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. (121-3076-61)

Mr. Nichols

April 18, 1956

R. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
APRIL 17, 1956

On his broadcast of April 17, 1956, Lewis spoke of the phony bibliography on communism in the United States prepared by the Fund for the Republic. He added that Fund officials claimed this bibliography was being revised not because the first one was so bad, but rather because they want to make a great work still better. Lewis said the background of this bibliography had been well documented in his volume on the Fund for the Republic. He went on to say the bibliography, notable for its omissions of anti-Communist writings, would be redone under the direction of Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University. Lewis added the job to revise the bibliography had been farmed out to a Professor from Chicago University. Lewis concluded by saying that he had no particular information on this professor but would try to get some.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Tompkins
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, 7631

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-7-89 BY [illegible]

100-391697

NOT RECORDED
141 APR 19 1956

WPL:jac:mad
(6)

cc - File 100-391697

[illegible]

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: April 25, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

Tolson
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Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
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Gandy

SUBJECT: MRS. [redacted]
OLIVER 4-4799

b6
b7C

Late yesterday afternoon the above-mentioned party who identified herself as being with the Ford Fund for the Republic called and requested that she be furnished a quotation which the Director made in 1953 or 1954. She stated that she desired this quotation to include in material on civil liberties being prepared for the Fund for the Republic. She recalled that, in 1953 or 1954, Mr. Hoover gave out some kind of a statement asking that information be reported to the FBI. A few weeks later, she understood, Mr. Hoover gave out another statement decrying hysteria and that this statement was picked up by the New York Times. It was her understanding that the two statements were inconsistent and that the second in effect retracted the first. She said the second statement was an excellent quotation which she wanted to use.

I told Mrs. [redacted] that I had no recollection of just what she might have in mind but that I felt sure there was no inconsistency in any such statements Mr. Hoover had issued. I suggested to her that, if she could go back to her source and get more specific information, she might want to call me again. She said she would do this.

b6
b7C

Based on the above description, I have no idea what the woman has in mind and do not think it worthwhile to be making a search to try to identify it.

Bureau files contain no record of Mrs. [redacted]

b6
b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

No further action unless Mrs. [redacted] should recontact the Bureau.

MAJ:rm
(2)

RECORDED - 83

100-391697-373

APR 26 1956

INDEXED-88

58 MAY 3 1956

EX-109

CRIME RECORD

LIAISON

2 - orig & dupl
1 - yellow
1 - DAG Rogers
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

April 27, 1956

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section tickler
1 - P. C. Young

DIRECTOR, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

According to the April 15, 1956, issue of the "New York Times," a survey to compile a factual inventory of racial integration in the North is currently under way. This survey is being made by a staff of researchers headed by David Loth, formerly with the "New York Times" and "The New York World" under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. According to Loth, the aim of the project is the preparation of a list of all instances of desegregation in northern areas during the last two years where Negroes and whites were separated. The list, he explained, will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure by organized groups, voluntary action or mere accidents of population shifts. He added, "We are trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation." (100-391697-A)

Loth has not been investigated by this Bureau. Our files show that according to the April 20, 1939, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, Loth was among the progressive writers and artists who had contributed copies of their works to be sold at public auction in support of the Chicago Newspaper Guild's strike against the local Hearst newspapers. (61-7554-94x2)

The October 5, 1944, "Washington Times-Herald" newspaper stated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) had placed on record information that Loth had registered in the New York City 1936 election as a communist; that he had also contributed an article to the "New Masses," described by the Committee as the official organ of the Communist Party (CP). During testimony before HCUA on October 4, 1944, Loth admitted that the name and New York address appearing on the CP registration in 1936 were both his, but he insisted that he did not register as a communist. He also stated that the fact that he was a contributor to the "New Masses" was not significant. (61-7582-1302)

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PCY:dje
(9)

100-391697

INDEXED
100-391697-374

RECORDED - 19
20 MAY 1956

NOTE: The foregoing will be incorporated in the running memorandum on the Fund.

ENCLOSURE
59 MAY 4 1956

A-109

In 1933 Loth wrote a book entitled "Public Plunder," which is a history of graft in America. In 1958 Loth was the co-author of a book entitled "Report on the American Communist," which contains the statements of some 300 former CP members in an attempt to show what led these individuals to join and later leave the CP. (94-42957-4; 94-4-2029-1)

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. R[illegible]son
Mr. T[illegible]
Mr [illegible]
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. H[illegible]lloman
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY [illegible]

BAUMGARDNER

INTEGRATION DATA OF NORTH SOUGHT

Fund for Republic Finances Survey—Report Without Comment Is the Aim

A survey to compile a factual inventory of racial integration in the North is under way.

It is being made by a former New York newspaper man and a staff of researchers under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. The fund was set up by the Ford Foundation but is now independent of it. The Fund for the Republic says its purpose is to support activities aiming at the elimination of restrictions on freedom.

The organizer of the survey is David Loth, formerly of The New York Times and The New York World. He has also been information director for various Government and nonprofit agencies.

The aim of the project, he said yesterday, is the preparation of a list of all instances of desegregation in northern areas where Negroes and whites were separated. The list, he explained, will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure by organized groups, voluntary action or mere accidents of population shifts.

The survey, he added, will match a similar study of the seventeen southern and border states being made by the Southern Regional Council.

Job Is Strictly Reporting

"Ours is strictly a reporting job," Mr. Loth said. "We are trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation. We propose to make an inventory of institutions, organizations or opportunities which, formerly confined to one race, now are open to members of both.

"We have divided these into the following categories: education on all levels, housing, jobs whether in factories or the professions, recreation facilities, transportation and public accommodations, religion, health facilities, official bodies such as juries or school boards and organizations of all kinds whether voluntary agencies or clubs or service groups or civic organizations."

Researchers are collecting data from the files of publications and national organizations here and in Washington. In addition, letters asking for information have been sent to several hundred state and local antidiscrimination commissons, church and professional groups, service and civic bodies, unions and individuals with experience in race relations. The study was begun a month ago.

"We have received the most encouraging cooperation," Mr. Loth said.

The inventory is confined to

P.C. [illegible]

OLL[illegible]
N. Y. Times Sect I
DATED 4/15/56 p. 70
FORWA[illegible]

RE: RACIAL SITUATIONS
IS -C

BUFILE -

~~Memo to Boardman~~
~~4-26-56~~ PC

memo to AG, cc Rogers
4-27-56 PC

file- 100-391697

100-391697-[illegible]

ENCLOSURE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trase
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

instances of the last two years.

"One reason is that this reduces the task to manageable proportions," Mr. Loth said. "Another is that it has seemed most appropriate to focus the similar southern inventory on the period since the Supreme Court decision in the public school cases."

Complete Picture Sought

"It is expected that both studies, North and South, will be published together to provide as complete a picture as possible of just what has been happening in this highly controversial area of American life.

"While we do not believe we will learn of every single instance of desegregation in the thirty-one states we are covering, we hope to present a thoroughly representative picture of what has taken place in the North in the last two years."

Mr. Loth said that "many leaders of both races have told us that such an inventory as we are compiling will be valuable in maintaining and continuing the orderly progress of desegregation.

"They and we believe," he added, "that it can give help to those who may be hesitating in a desegregation program, ammunition to those who face resistance or apathy in similar attempts and a more balanced account of facts to offset the sensational aspects of some current racial problems."

National attention has been focused on the South and border states, Mr. Loth noted. "But segregation is no less unjust because it is practiced in the North, as southern spokesmen frequently point out. Our inventory, we hope, will provide really comprehensive factual data on which to base a judgment as to how successfully the North is proceeding."

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 4-25-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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For information purposes, [redacted] advised Add Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, in confidence on 4-19-56 that information had been received reflecting that the General Counsel for the Treasury Department had instructed that the investigation of the Fund for the Republic should be brought to a conclusion as quickly as possible. Wagner was told we had also learned that the investigation might take approximately 60 days to complete; that the 1953 and 1954 audits had already been completed, but that 1955 was yet to be finished.

Wagner indicated that he would that day get in touch with Senator Styles Bridges and Mr. David Kendall, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He added that Kendall was very close personal friend of his and that he intended advising Kendall of his feelings in this matter. He stated that he had recently attended a small social function with Styles Bridges and had on that occasion advised Senator Bridges of his feelings concerning the Fund for the Republic, but that he felt it would be advisable to again bring this matter to the Senator's attention so there would be no doubt as to how the American Legion felt about the dangers of the Fund for the Republic.

CDD:hpf
(2)

RECORDED - 51 100-391697-375

INDEXED - 51

EX. - 120

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Section tickler
1 - Mr. H.O. Bly
1 - Mr. P.C. Young
1 - Mr. Belmont

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: May 10, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-80 BY

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

Tolson
Boardman
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SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

President Robert M. Hutchins has recently announced that The Fund for the Republic, Inc., will finance and distribute 50,000 copies of a Department of Defense pamphlet entitled Who Are the Communists and Why?. Concerning the enclosed newspaper clipping conveying this information, the Director has asked, "Have we taken a look at this publication."

The answer to the Director's question is yes. The Central Research Section reads these pamphlets as they arrive at the Bureau. The pamphlet in question is one of a series which includes such titles as International Communism, Communism in the U.S.A., Communism in the U.S.S.R., In the Iron Grip of the Kremlin, and Communism in Red China.

All these pamphlets prepared by the Department of Defense are very simply written and consist of around sixteen pages. They are prepared for the use of personnel in the military service and appear to be adequate for that purpose. They are directed toward the soldier of average education, intelligence, understanding, and background.

The one about which the Director asks, Who Are the Communists and Why?, was issued on December 8, 1955. It treats such topics as the motivation for joining the communist parties, the hard-core member, the rank-and-file member, appeals of communism, communists as maladjusted persons, the idealists, chronic protesters, et cetera. The pamphlet concludes that, no matter what the reasons are for a person's joining a communist party, "They are all corrupt. They have sold out their own countries and their own souls to help spread the tyranny of Soviet communism over the whole world." (p. 14)

The Bureau is not mentioned in the pamphlet. It contains no information which is not already known to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to the Director for his information.

Enclosure
WCS:mjh
(6)

52 SEP 28 1956

RECORDED - 72

INDEXED - 72

11 MAY 23 1956

55 MAY 28 1956

Mr. Nichols

May 4, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST
7:00 P.M., MAY 3, 1956
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

54080

SYNOPSIS:

In radio broadcast May 3, 1956, Mr. Lewis criticized Paul G. Hoffman and Robert M. Hutchins of Fund for the Republic. He stated that Studebaker-Packard Corp. which Hoffman heads lost $29,700,000 last year and is losing money this year; that the stockholders are critical and angry; and that there are increased rumors about Hoffman's being on the way out of the corporation. Mr. Lewis said Hoffman was head of Economic Cooperation Administration in 1948-50 and left it in such shape that it had to be abolished; that Hoffman has ties to the "school of extreme internationalism" in the person of his son, Hallock Hoffman, who is vice president of Fund for the Republic. Mr. Lewis described Hutchins as a supporter of "one-worldism" and said Hoffman, as Hutchins' sponsor, underwrites his ideas. According to Mr. Lewis, the White House is pushing Hoffman for a place on the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. He inferred that Hoffman is anxious for this appointment because he will have to resign from Studebaker-Packard or be deposed. Mr. Lewis said, "This is the Fund for the Republic...bidding for a place on the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly."

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - File 100-391697
GWG:meb/bs (8)

NOT RECORDED
18 MAY 1956

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-30-80 BY

283

55 MAY 11 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

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DETAILS:

In his radio broadcast on May 3, 1956, Mr. Lewis devoted practically the entire program to Paul G. Hoffman and Robert M. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic. He clearly inferred that Hoffman is anxious to be appointed to the United States delegation to the United Nations because his position with the Studebaker-Packard Corporation is such that he will have to resign voluntarily or he will be deposed.

The following is an account of pertinent portions of Mr. Lewis' broadcast:

Paul G. Hoffman is the "notably unsuccessful" head of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation (S-P) at a salary of $100,000 a year, plus expenses, handsome options to buy stock at less than market value and retirement benefits. S-P's operating loss was $29,700,000 last year. Hoffman is Chairman of the Board and the original sponsor of the Fund for the Republic, and the "undenied reports" are that the $15,000,000 grant for the Fund by the Ford Foundation was made in order to get ~~off~~ Hoffman off the Board of the Ford Foundation because of the violent objections to his presence there. Hoffman is "an uncompromising champion" of the Fund's President, Robert M. Hutchins, "the eccentric--that's a polite terminology--former chancellor of the University of Chicago and presently somewhat broken down ex-boy wonder who defends the hiring of communists and whose organization indulges in recurring flights into the stratosphere of one-worldism even to the extent of spending many months in drafting a world government constitution." Hutchins and his associates state that the United States should be abolished, and Hoffman, as Hutchins' sponsor, underwrites these ideas.

Hoffman was head of the ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration) from 1948 to 1950 and left ECA in such shape that it finally had to be abolished. Hoffman has other convincing ties to the "school of extreme internationalism" in the person of a "no less eccentric and extreme son, Hallock Hoffman, who at times makes Robert Meynard Hutchins appear as a conservative in such fields." Hallock Hoffman would not have been made vice president of the Fund for the Republic at some $10,000 a year unless he accurately reflected the views of his father and Hutchins. Both Hoffmans live in Pasadena, California.

The White House is about to nominate, and is actively promoting among Republicans in the Senate, Paul Hoffman for Republican representative on the American delegation to the fall session of the United Nations. Among

the first items to be considered by the UN this fall is the admission of Red China. "By very strong coincidence, at our American prodding," the opening of the fall session of the UN General Assembly has been postponed from September, when our position in regard to the Red China question would have to be laid on the table during the election campaign, until November 12, 1956, when it will be too late for the American people to do anything about what the American delegation does in regard to Red China.

As Chairman of the Board of S-P, Hoffman is not well regarded by the stockholders. At a stockholders meeting about 2 1/2 weeks ago, "The Wall Street Journal" stated, the stockholders were critical, and, at times, angry. James J. Nance, President of S-P, said the company had been unable to get a $100,000,000 loan to tide it through; that there was a $29,000,000 loss last year and it is continuing this year; and that the stocks of unsold, unused cars in the dealers' hands at the beginning of this year were twice what they were at the same time in the previous year. During the meeting, a Detroit attorney, Sol A. Dann called a meeting to take place after the stockholders' meeting to set up a stockholders' protective committee. During the regular meeting, John H. Neville, New York security bond dealer, criticized Hoffman's position as head of the Fund for the Republic, which he described as a leftist-type organization. Neville pointed out that the Fund is supported by the Ford Foundation, and the Ford Motor Company had just gotten an important contract which should have gone to S-P; that the first improvement in S-P would be to get a commander-in-chief who does not consort with the enemy. Hoffman, who claimed he had drawn no salary since January 29, 1956, in view of S-P's losses, demanded an apology. Another stockholder said that S-P needs a good salesman at its head but actually has an international politician.

Among the possibilities why the White House is pushing Hoffman for the UN is that Hoffman has managed to keep himself in personal contact with the President, creating the impression that there is a deep and powerful personal bond between them. In view of the disastrous management of S-P under Hoffman, there are increased rumors that Hoffman is on his way out; that if he does not resign voluntarily, he will be deposed. Whenever one of these occasions comes along, Hoffman seems to have to have some means of salving his injured feelings. In the case of the Ford Foundation, he got the $15,000,000 for the Fund for the Republic. In the case of his unsuccessful performance with S-P, he wants to have honor bestowed upon him by his Government "and so this bid for the job on the United Nations delegation. . . . The question would seem to be. . . whether the interests of the people of the United States and the cause of the free world

54092

and the admission of Red China into the United Nations and all of the other vital issues concerned should be the price for soothing the injured pride of a very vain and not too orthodox or sound individual who has brought upon himself the troubles that now confront him."

If the White House persists in sending Hoffman's nomination to the Senate, he will face the worst fight of any [illegible] nominee to any position. This is the Fund for the [illegible] for a place on the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

May 3, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-7-81 BY 2082075 1pp

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST
WWDC, 7:00 P.M., MAY 2, 1956

On this date's broadcast, Fulton Lewis devoted about 5 minutes to a discussion of the Administration's efforts to have Paul Hoffman appointed as the Republican lay member on the United Nations delegation for the meeting of the General Assembly of the U.N. which begins this fall. He said they were also promoting as a Democratic lay leader Mr. Dean Rusk, State Department Far East expert under the Truman-Atchison regime. He described Paul Hoffman as a "long time bleeding heart, one worlder" and as the "patron saint" of Robert M. Hutchins--"at the head of the notorious Fund for the Republic."

The following is pertinent portions of Lewis' statements:

"These two, plus two members of the Congress, plus the permanent delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, would make up the five-man delegation to represent the United States. Now Mr. Hoffman, please remember, has stated that the only difference between him and the extremist, Dr. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic, is that Hutchins has the courage of his convictions and dares to say publicly the things he believes. Mr. Hoffman does not. In a speech in Pasadena, California, last November 9, however, Mr. Hoffman deplored the fact that speakers who want to talk in favor of admitting Red China to the United Nations may have difficulty at times in hiring a public hall in which to be heard. He has effused at great length in the last ten days about the dire need for a greatly increased European give-away program to compete with Russia and one of his great enthusiasms when he was with the Ford Foundation was give-away projects to Mr. Nehru's India. There is much more but that gives you an idea.

"Now let's go back again to last December when Russia and the communist block in the United Nations and Mr. Nehru and his neutralist nations were trying to force Red China into the UN in a so-called 'package-deal' which you remember was finally settled by selling out Japan in trade for Outer Mongolia. A ridiculous performance! On that occasion Senator William Knowland of California said somewhat pathetically as it now turns out the following in a course of a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, and I quote 'the shocking sequel to this gut is that at the United Nations Headquarters the representatives of the Republic of China were informed that if they used their veto right in the Security Council there

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - File 100-391697

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18 MAY 1956

55 MAY 15 1956

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would likely be a majority vote in the General Assembly to seat communist China next year' meaning, of course, in the now coming session. In any event the quote continues 'after the 1956 American elections the neutrals, the Soviet block and the British Commonwealth, other than Australia, have given strong hints that they will seat communist China in the General Assembly.'

"The plan is then for the coming meeting of the UN General Assembly to convene in New York in early September, however, let me read you the following item from 'The New York Times' of this morning: 'The next session of the United Nations General Assembly will be held here after the presidential election in the United States. The date has been set for Monday, November 12. The decision to postpone the session which usually begins in September was in line with a proposal made last month by Chile, Ecuador and Cuba. It was announced today that 51 of the 60 nations concerned have concurred without reservation. The U.S. favored the postponement (Lewis stated that . . the U.S. persuaded above 3 countries to urge postponement). The Eisenhower Administration presses for the appointment of Paul G. Hoffman 'ultra liberal one worlder and underwriter of Robert Maynard Hutchins who defends the hiring of communists in his Fund for the Republic and who recently was author of a world constitution.' Also, the Atchison-Truman chore boy (Dean Rusk) on Far Eastern policies who was strongly in favor of Red China. The first order of business when the UN General Assembly reconvenes (it was to have been this September) will be the issue of Red China's admission to the UN and under the original arrangement this would have been right in the middle of the presidential election campaign. The American stand on that issue would have had to be made and established and the fight completed well before the time of the presidential voting. The UN date for the General Assembly is postponed with our backing until after the presidential election is over and even the American position on the seating of Red China cannot affect the voters. They won't know anything until it is all over and they have cast their ballots.

"I'll give you some insight into some other facts of Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, his background, what he stands for, and why he is being promoted for this job on the United States delegation to the United Nations in a later broadcast."

Mr. Nichols April 30, 1976

M. L. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST
7:30 P.M., APRIL 30, 1976

Mr. Lewis briefly mentioned the Fund for the Republic in his broadcast this evening. He stated that the Senate had voted to cite Mrs. Mary Knowles, the librarian employed in Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, for contempt. She had refused to answer questions about communism before a Congressional committee. All of the pertinent papers are being sent to the Department of Justice. Lewis commented that this was the case in which the Fund for the Republic had announced a special $5,000 award to the Quaker Monthly Meeting for refusal to fire Mrs. Knowles.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391699)
cc - Ford Foundation file (100-[illegible] 4237)

FJT:mcb:lma
(7)

0-19 (11-22-55)

Fund Assists U. S.

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, announced here yesterday that the organization will finance distribution of 50,000 copies of a Department of Defense publication entitled "Who are Communists and Why?"

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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Have we taken a look at this publication.

RECORDED - 72 100-371601-37

RECORDED 11 MAY 23 1956

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News 18
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date MAY 9 1956

55 MAY 28 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: May 23, 1956

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

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You will recall that Internal Revenue Service (IRS) is investigating the tax exempt status of the Fund for the Republic. The audit of the Fund books for the year 1955 is not yet complete nor is the analysis of the end product of the Fund to determine whether the published material is propaganda rather than educational.

As the result of a "heated" meeting by IRS headquarters and field personnel handling the Fund investigation on March 19, 1956, the two IRS field investigators charged Henry Needham, Chief, Pensions and Exempt Organizations Branch, IRS, with being a "fellow traveler." *John McGough and Robert Kellet of the New York Office, IRS, advised the Office of Inspection that Needham, during the above conference allegedly stated he questioned the reliability of the testimony of Budenz, Chambers and Bentley; that exempt status should be restored to the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR); asked for proof that Earl Browder was a communist, and indicated there was nothing subversive about the Fund and even if there were, it would not influence the decision on exempt status.

Acting Commissioner Vernon D. Acree brought this matter to the attention of Commissioner Harrington and had Needham interviewed yesterday. Needham denied saying the IPR exemption should be restored, but claimed he said it needed reconsideration in view of constant IPR complaints and the vagueness of the exemption law. According to Needham, he has no sympathy for communism or communist organizations; however, the law within which he has to work only permits removal of subversive organizations if cited by the Attorney General. Otherwise, in denying an educational organization, such as the Fund and IPR claim to be, they must rule the material produced by these organizations is completely opinionated, therefore propaganda and not educational. Needham claims he was speaking technically as a lawyer, pointing out that even though Browder was a communist, his employment by the Fund would not be grounds to remove its exempt status. He denied saying he questioned the reliability of Budenz, Chambers and Bentley,

JJD:jlf (6)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt

*Bufiles negative concerning Henry Needham.

RECORDED - 47 100-391697-378

INDEXED - 47

EX. - 120

Liaison

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

According to Acree, he learned from McGough yesterday that the House Committee on Un-American Activities intends to hold hearings on the Fund for the Republic and its tax exempt status in the near future. McGough claims that the Committee has a copy of the Internal Revenue audit of the Fund.

ACTION:

For information.

Lewis pointed out that the Fund takes this one glaring case to condemn the whole program.

Mr. Lewis said that the communist Daily Worker paid honor to Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic for his speech at New York City College. Hoffman appealed to the students of the college to speak out for freedom, to counteract black-listing, intimidation and fear. Hoffman said the right to debate, the right to stand innocent until proven guilty has been debased by "a new form of Klu Klux Klanism by which a group of Americans having no judicial status whatsoever can set themselves up to pass judgment on the loyalty of their fellow citizens."

Lewis pointed out that this was criticism of the present administration's security program and further that Hoffman was being considered for a United Nations position. He was being considered despite vigorous and violent objections by both Democrats and Republicans. He then quoted again what Hoffman had said.

Lewis then asked how does Mr. Eisenhower feel about his good friend Mr. Hoffman whom he is about to appoint to the UN position.

Lewis went on to point out that the security program was set up by the ~~Security~~ Administration and was perfectly legal. He wondered if the President and Dulles felt it was wise to select this man out of all the people qualified for such a high position. Here is a man who opposed to the security program which is designed only to keep undesirable and subversive employees out of the government service.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Nichols

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY [illegible]

May 16, 1956

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
MAY 16, 1956

Lewis said that the Fund for the Republic is trying to infiltrate the Hollywood movie industry. He said in the drive against the Government security program, Adam Yarmolinsky went to sell Twentieth Century Fox into letting the Fund for the Republic help the company in the planning of a picture now being projected.

He said the picture being planned is based on the Chasnower Case, and he refreshes his audience's memory by pointing out that Chasnower had been fired by the Navy his case reinvestigated he was reinstated and the Navy apologized.

The Fund for the Republic sent Yarmolinksy and Paul Jacobs (who did an alleged study on so-called black-listing in Hollywood) to Hollywood to assist on the script which is being written by Philip Dunn.

Yarmolinsky himself started work with the Fund for the Republic and gathered information on security subjects by interviewing them without benefit of the Government side of the case. He said this has become a much touted document by those who are attacking the security program, and is supposed to be a bible for those who believe that any restrictions on Government employees are not to be tolerated.

Lewis said Twentieth Century Fox informed him this afternoon that Yarmolinsky and Jacobs did come to them and offer assistance, but they turned down the offer and would have no part of them. Lewis said that Twentieth Century Fox also told him this afternoon that the script is now in the process of preparation and should be finished in a matter of several weeks when it will be submitted to the Navy Department for approval. If they approve, the picture will be made If not, it will be dropped.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391627

ECK:jh

(7)

NOT RECORDED
191 MAY 18 1956

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 18, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: ABRAHAM CHASANOW
SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
TWENTIETH CENTURY-FOX FILM

Tolson
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Gandy

A tremendous amount of interest has been evoked by the Fulton Lewis broadcast on Wednesday evening 5-16 wherein he referred to 20th Century Fox acquiring motion picture rights to the Chasanow story, which will be used in a motion picture being produced by 20th Century Fox to point out the fallacy of the Federal Employees Security Program, which picture is alleged to be based on a survey made by the Fund of the Republic. Paul Jacobs of the Fund for the Republic and Adam Yarmolinsky also of the Fund, are reported to have been in touch with Philip Dunne of Fox and to have collaborated with Dunne.

Mr. Tracy informed me that the Commission on Government Security is looking into the picture. They took the matter up with the Navy Department on May 16 and the Navy Department stated that they had a request for cooperation which Navy is now going to decline. After the Commission on Government Security secures a few more additional facts, Lloyd Wright is going to call Spyros Skouras since he has done legal work for 20th Century Fox in the past.

Tom Donegan reported this alleged picture to Max Rabb at the White House and orders are being issued from the White House to the Navy Dept. to oppose this.

Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, has determined that Tony Lewis now of the New York Times, who did a series on Chasanow for the Washington Daily News, has been to Hollywood for conferences, as has Chasanow's attorney, Mr. Fanelli.

LBN:hpf
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NOT RECORDED
183 MAY 25 1956

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-7-89 BY

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FBI - SEC. SECT.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 25, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

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Karl Baarslag, a member of the staff, House Committee on Un-American Activities, who is handling the investigation of the Fund for the Republic, dropped by to see DeLoach 5-24-56. Public hearings will be held concerning the Fund beginning 6-26-56. J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of The American Legion, will be the first witness followed by Godfrey Schmidt, who will testify concerning the Fund's blacklisting of individuals in the entertainment field; Jim Burnham, a former college professor, who is reportedly an authority on international communism; J. B. Matthews and Francis McNamara, who is Director of Americanism for the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Baarslag issued an invitation for former Assistant to the Director D. M. Ladd to testify, specifically concerning the ill effect that Adam Yarmolinsky's survey regarding security had on the general public. Ladd told Baarslag he could not accept this invitation in view of his commitments to the Commission on Government Security.

Baarslag and Chairman Walter felt that after the above witnesses have testified, Robert Hutchins, head of the Fund for the Republic, will be so incensed that he will ask for an opportunity to appear before the Committee. Regardless of whether or not Hutchins does ask for an invitation, the Committee then plans to have Amos Landman, Earl Browder, and Alan Westin, all of whom have been used by the Fund in some capacity. Westin is currently employed at Harvard and is the author of one series of the Freedom Agenda. According to Baarslag, he was known in Communist Party circles at Harvard some years back as a confirmed Communist who used the code name of Victor Kravchenko.

Baarslag revealed that Adam Yarmolinsky, who heads up the Washington office of the Fund for the Republic, is spending approximately 4 days in New York out of each week now. "Ping" Ferry, who has been an employee of the Fund for some time and who has been reportedly in charge of the New York office of the Fund, is reported to be on his way out and not in the good graces with either Robert Hutchins or Paul Hoffman.

RECORDED - 36
INDEXED - 36

100-7-379

ACTION: For record purposes.

23 JUN 4 1956

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(3)

62 JUN 6 1956

cc - Mr. Belmont

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

May 25, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY

MR. NICHOLS:

[redacted] called me from New York at 6:45 p.m., 5-25-56. Jimmy merely wanted to let us know that the 1955 audit of the Fund for the Republic had been completed by the Internal Revenue in New York and had been forwarded to the Treasury Department in Washington. The 1953 and 1954 audits of the Fund, as you will recall, were forwarded with the recommendation that the Fund be removed from its tax exempt status. [redacted] stated that the 1955 audit was forwarded with no recommendation whatsoever and that he had discreetly ascertained that Henry P. Needham, Chief of the Tax Exemption and Pensions Branch of Internal Revenue had so emphatically turned down the recommendation on the 1953 and 1954 audits that the New York representatives of Internal Revenue had been somewhat afraid to put a recommendation on the 1955 audit. [redacted] also stated that he had discreetly learned that the Treasury Dept. representative who handled the 1955 audit was being offered a Grade 14 or 15 job within Treasury; that he, therefore, did not want to do anything which would cause him difficulty at this time.

b7D

I took the opportunity to tell [redacted] in confidence that Needham had been interviewed yesterday afternoon by the Treasury Dept; that he denied making any statements concerning Whittaker Chambers and that he furthermore denied possessing pro-communist sympathies. Needham admitted to the Inspection Service who interviewed him that he was against removing the Fund for the Republic from its tax exempt status as based upon the 1953 and 1954 audits but that his decision in this regard was based upon a legal technicality and not pro-communist sympathies. Needham told Treasury Dept. Inspection Service that his decision regarding the Fund must be based upon (1) Whether or not the Fund was included among organizations on the Attorney General's list and (2) Whether or not the activities of the Fund had in any manner propagandized the general public. Needham claimed that the 1953 and 1954 audits did not meet the above 2 qualifications. Consequently, he gave a recommendation favorable to the Fund.

The National Commander of the American Legion will be in Washington on Monday and has asked that I meet with him in his office at 2:00 p.m. He undoubtedly desires to discuss matters concerning the Fund for the Republic. He also will desire to go over several possibilities for his speech on 6-8-56 before the National Academy. If you have no objections, I will meet with Wagner at this time.

This is OK.

C. D. DE LOACH

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INDEXED - 36

23 JUN 4 1956

COMM-FBI

LIAISON

283

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Mr. Nichols

DATE: May 15, 1956

FROM: M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
MAY 15, 1956

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Lewis on his 5-15-56 broadcast spent several minutes in sharply criticizing the State Department for nominating Paul Hoffman for the post of delegate to the U.N. Lewis also mentioned that Dean Rusk had been nominated for a U.N. position.

During the course of his remarks regarding Hoffman, Lewis reiterated several times that "Hoffman is the Fund for the Republic." He said Hoffman conceived the plan for the Fund for the Republic and ran it from the beginning. Lewis described Hoffman as an "extreme radical" and added that if Hoffman got any further to the left, he would fall off the table. Lewis added that Hoffman and Hutchins agree all the way and that they are two of a kind.

Lewis indicated that he felt Hoffman's chances of being defeated for this nomination were slight and indicated that the White House was receiving a lot of mail objecting to Hoffman's nomination. He commented that both Hoffman's and Rusk's appointments might slip through the Senate.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

INDEXED - 31

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

HPL:jh
(7)

4-572 (3-29-55)
STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 5-15-56

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-7-89 BY SP2B573/ap

Original filed in: 67-117321

Page 10940 Congressman Beeco, (R) Tennessee, extended his remarks to include an editorial, under date of May 9, 1956, contained in the Harvard Tiny-Republican, a weekly newspaper published by the Harvard University Young Republican Club. The editorial refers to the grant of $5,000 by the Fund for the Republic to the Plymouth Meeting Library in recognition of the board retaining as librarian Mary Gardiner Knowles. A reference, contained in the editorial, to the FBI has been noted for your attention. A memorandum was prepared on this matter earlier today.

INDEXED

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 5-14-56 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

100-339677-382

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117 JUN 11 1956

56 JUN 18 1956

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1 - Mr. Young

June 22, 1956

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DATE 9-7-89 BY 8(SIC)

SAC, New York (62-11509)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)
INFORMATION CONCERNING (LIAISON SECTION)

The "Washington City News Service," Washington, D. C., on 6/21/56 reported that Robert Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic released a report which gave a detailed account of the Fund's activities and projects since its establishment in December, 1952. The report was not identified by title and is assumed to be the annual report of the Fund for the Republic.

You are instructed to discreetly attempt to obtain a copy of the above-mentioned report and submit it to the Bureau at the earliest possible date.

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100-391697-383

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COMM — FBI
JUN 22 1956
MAILED 31

Mr. L. V. Boardman May 28, 1956

Mr. A. H. Belmont

ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK;
COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL LOYALTY-
SECURITY PROGRAMS

SYNOPSIS:

Report of Committee to Study Federal Loyalty-Security Programs, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, pages 104-108 reviewed. Referenced section contains certain Committee proposals relating to amendment or recodification of existing Federal statutes pertaining to internal security operations against communism. Specific suggestions made by Committee in three categories; namely, sabotage, espionage, and sedition (includes Smith Act of 1940, sedition and conspiracy statutes, and Internal Security Act of 1950). Analysis of suggestions indicates Committee proposals have some elements of merit. Majority of proposals either being considered by Department and/or Congress or have been previously considered.

ACTION:

None. This has been prepared for your information.

62-102013
cc - Bufiles 100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)
62-101916 (Commission on Government Security)

cc - Mr. L. V. Boardman
Mr. A. H. Belmont
Mr. F. J. Baumgardner
Mr. L. Whitson
Mr. P. R. Bibler
Mr. H. O. Bly
Mr. W. F. Doyle

WFD:hif
(10)

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

DETAILS:

Reference my memorandum 5/24/56 which was a preliminary review of a report of the captioned committee on the operation of the Loyalty and Security of Government Employees Program from 1947 to date. This study was made under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic which granted the Association of the Bar of the City of New York $100,000 for this purpose. Referenced memorandum indicated that a detailed analysis of suggestions made in this study concerning amendments to Federal statutes designed to strengthen internal security operations against communism would be made by the Domestic Intelligence Division pursuant to instructions of Mr. Tolson.

These suggestions by the captioned committee fall under three broad categories; namely, sabotage, espionage, and sedition. Each of these will be treated under the appropriate captions below.

SABOTAGE

Committee Proposal

Report discusses possible broadening of existing statutes noting that existing criminal provisions pertain to physical sabotage in destruction of property related to war and national defense; states Federal code could be broadened to cover property vital to civilian life such as dams and power stations; notes that "Defense Facilities Protection Act of 1954" (the Butler Bill) is one measure designed for this purpose; however, same has not passed Congress.

Observation:

This proposed legislation has been previously recommended by the Office of Legal Counsel and the Internal Security Division of the Department. Similar bills have previously been introduced in Congress providing that when the security of the United States is threatened by war, insurgency or serious disturbances of international relations the President may institute administrative

proceedings to bar certain individuals from defense facilities if there exists reasonable grounds to believe they will commit espionage or sabotage or other subversive activity. This bill would have substantially the same effects as the suggestions incorporated in the Association of the Bar of the City of New York committee report.

ESPIONAGE

Committee Proposal

Report incorporates a number of proposals designed to recodify or unify the three principal espionage statutes now in existence. Each of these proposals will be dealt with in detail in the observations which follow.

Observation:

The first proposal regarding espionage relates to the recodifying or unifying of the various statutes on the subject. There is merit in this suggestion and drafts have been drawn from time to time by the Atomic Energy Commission and in the Department of Justice along this line. None have been entirely satisfactory.

Another proposal is to alter the statutes so that their application would not turn upon whether the information in question was "classified" or "restricted." The text of the statutes refers to items "relating to" or "connected with" the "national defense." This is sound. By court interpretation in U. S. vs. Heine, 151 F2d 813, "information relating to the national defense" was held not to include information which came from sources lawfully accessible to the public. Something should be done either to seek a new court interpretation or to legislate penalties for spies who collect public source information and correlate it into intelligence reports for their principals.

The third proposal is to broaden the scope of the espionage statutes to cover "mutual security information as well as information relating to the defense of the United States."

This would appear to be unnecessary in the absence of a court decision that mutual security information did not relate to the defense of the United States, since the purpose of our various treaties, such as the North Atlantic Treaty, is to provide for the defense of the United States.

It is suggested that attempts and conspiracies to commit espionage be specifically covered by statute. Conspiracy can be punished under existing statutes. In any instance where an attempt, in the absence of a conspiracy, is not now punishable by statute, a clear showing of necessity and practicability should be made before seeking statutory amendment.

Another proposal is to require all death penalties to be fixed by juries or three judges, rather than by one judge. Manner of arriving at death penalty could be made uniform for all types of cases where death penalty is now possible. In first degree murder, for example, death is mandatory unless jury recommends against capital punishment. The jury can direct death penalty in convictions under train wrecking statute where death has resulted from wreck. The three judge proposal appears cumbersome and not in line with existing Federal procedure. Manner of assessing penalty and imposing sentence is beyond scope of our jurisdiction.

Final proposal was to simplify the description of espionage offenses as far as possible without being unconstitutionally vague. This concept has merit, but the example given eliminates the element relating to the national defense and would in effect make it possible to punish many acts now recognized as lawful as "espionage," i.e., acquisition of any information beneficial to a foreign country even though it did not relate to national defense would be punishable as espionage.

As an afterthought, the comment appears that the Espionage Act penalizes gross negligence but the Atomic Energy Act does not. Section 229, Atomic Energy Act of 1954, allows prosecution under the Espionage Act even though the matter relating to the national defense which is removed, et cetera, through gross negligence, involves restricted data under the Atomic Energy Act. There is no real loophole here.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

SEDITION

Committee Proposal

Grouped under this broad category are such specific items of the criminal code as the Smith Act of 1940, general sedition and conspiracy sections and the Internal Security Act of 1950 (U.S.C.A. Section 783 (a)). Committee report notes that this act makes it "...unlawful for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship as defined in paragraph (15) of section 782 of this title, the direction and control of which is to be vested in, or exercised by or under the domination or control of, any foreign government, foreign organization, or foreign individual..." It was proposed that the above-quoted language after "Section 782 of this title" be deleted. It was reasoned that this deletion would prevent Titoist or Trotskyite communist movement escaping punishment, not to mention noncommunist forms of totalitarianism.

Observation:

While this suggestion does have merit from an academic standpoint, it may not have too much merit from a practical application. To date, the Department of Justice has not considered the prosecution of any communist leaders under this provision. Since the communist movement represents the most dangerous conspiracy undoubtedly the Department has felt that the Smith Act of 1940 is a more proper statute under which to prosecute Communist Party leaders. It is a moot question as to whether or not this deletion would change this provision into a proper statute for prosecution of Titoist or Trotskyite individuals.

The foregoing proposals appear on pages 105-108 of the report of the Committee to Study Federal Loyalty-Security Programs of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. This analysis has been prepared pursuant to the request of Mr. Tolson.

Mr. L. V. Boardman May 1, 1956

Mr. A. H. Belmont

ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK;
COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL LOYALTY-
SECURITY PROGRAMS

Reference is made to the attached Photostats which were furnished to Mr. Tolson by Mr. L. F. Ladd. From a review of same, it appears to be an interim report of the captioned committee on the operation of the Loyalty and Security of Government Employees Program from 1947 to date. This study was made under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic which granted the Association of the Bar of the City of New York $100,000 for this purpose.

A preliminary review of this study reflects that it is concerned primarily with the operation of the various Federal personnel security programs. Pages 102 through 103 enumerate a number of proposals designed to strengthen internal security operations against communism. Specific amendments of Federal statute are proposed in three categories; namely, physical sabotage, espionage, and sedition. These proposals are being currently analyzed in the Domestic Intelligence Division and will be made the subject of a separate memorandum pursuant to the instructions of Mr. Tolson to analyze the attached material and determine if anything of interest to the Bureau is contained therein.

ACTION:

It is recommended that this memorandum and attached Photostats be referred to the Security of Government Employees Section for review and analysis of the material relating to the Federal personnel security programs pursuant to the instructions of Mr. Tolson.

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141 JUN 29 1956

Enclosure
62-101911
cc - Mafiles 100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)
62-101916 (Commission on Government Security)
cc - Mr. L. V. Boardman
Mr. A. H. Belmont
Mr. A. J. Baumgardner
Mr. W. A. Vranigan
Mr. S. A. Stanley
Mr. W. F. Boyle
JMB:mlc (9)

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CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM (to Lloyd Wright)

Criminal Law Section, American Bar Association
Annual Convention, American Bar Association, Dallas, Texas, 1957

At the ABA Convention in Philadelphia last year the Criminal Law Section officers declined to approve a suggestion for a discussion of loyalty-security procedures in the Armed Forces in connection with a discussion of the administration of criminal justice.

For more than a year Yarmolinsky, who was present incidentally at a Criminal Law session last year, had been attempting on behalf of The Fund For The Republic to bring the loyalty-security subject up before the Criminal Law Section, obviously to use it as a sounding board.

Rufus King advised me today that it was his understanding that Walter Armstrong of Memphis and Arthur Freund of St. Louis had avoided the issue a year ago. Rufus stated that he agreed with the decision, as he could see no connection between that subject matter and criminal law. However, Rufus advised confidentially that Chief Justice Warren last year at the Philadelphia Convention inquired of Arthur Freund, "I did not know that you were against civil rights discussions."

I told Rufus I was personally opposed to the Criminal Law Section being used as a sounding board for the civil rights people; that they had their own committees if they wished to go into the public relations and propaganda field. Rufus agreed with me; however, he stated that apparently Walter Armstrong had received additional pressure and that he had turned it over to Arthur Freund to organize such a program. Rufus disclaimed any responsibility himself for the situation. I asked him whether or not he was going to object, and he stated that he felt his job was to carry out orders. I stated that I would like to object for the reason I did not feel it was a proper subject and, further, because in my present position I felt that the ABA should not concern itself with the subject matter at all until the Commission on Government Security had rendered its report which will contain the facts on both sides of the many disputed cases.

As the matter stands now, it is [illegible] a discussion with a speech by Charles P. Curtis, author of the Oppenheimer book; James L. Noel, Jr., a member of the Commission on Government Security; and William F. Tompkins. In view of the identity of

those selected, all of whom have tentatively accepted, it would resolve itself into a debate with considerable publicity. Certainly Tompkins and Curtis will not agree. Therefore, if this program goes through, it will be just one more sounding board prior to the time the Commission on Government Security ascertains the full facts and can reach objective conclusions and recommendations to the Congress and the President. Rufus has not heard directly from Walter Armstrong as to this particular program but has been working on instructions from Arthur Freund, who will be in Washington the latter part of this week in connection with a meeting of the American Law Institute. I have requested Rufus to set up either a luncheon, dinner or any other appointment where we can sit down with Loyd Wright and Mickey Ladd, Rufus King and Freund and discuss the proposed program. If this discussion does not result in a withdrawal, I will then write a letter to Walter Armstrong objecting in my capacity as a member of the Criminal Law Section Council.

This is another example of the way in which The Fund For The Republic operates to reach the general public and influence public thinking. The connection of Yarmolinsky, The Fund For The Republic and Chief Justice Warren should be maintained in the strictest of confidence for the reason the discussions referred to were all oral.

.. T.

Tracy

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Mr. L. V. BOARDMAN

May 17, 1955

A. H. BELMONT

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Holloman
1 - Mr. Wallace - 100-391297 (PRC)
1 - Section tickler
1 - J. F. Toby

PAUL GRAY HOFFMAN

SYNOPSIS:

Memorandum prepared pursuant to Director's request for summary of Paul Hoffman, a nominee as delegate to the U.N. Hoffman, chairman of Board of Directors of Fund for the Republic (FFR) since Feb., 1953, was subject of applicant investigation in July, 1953, conducted at request of Secretary of State. On 7-31-53 a 26-pg. summary reflecting results of that investigation was sent to Attorney General, White House, and Secretary of State. Summary on Hoffman's connection with FFR sent to Attorney General 4-1-55. While most persons interviewed considered Hoffman to be of excellent character, and well qualified for a position of trust with the Government, one person noted he had received public criticism for stacking the Ford Foundation with "so-called left wingers," while its director from 1950 to 1953; and two individuals would not recommend him because of his actions in "giving out the taxpayer's money" while administrator of Economic Cooperation Administration. Alfred M. Kohlberg, chairman of American Jewish League Against Communism, although considering Hoffman loyal, described him as "displaying complete naivete in the recognition of communism in the United States." Hoffman reportedly supported INDUSCO (American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives), an organization which allegedly diverted funds to communist-held territories. He was a trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1942 to 1948, contributing $100 each year to its support. In 1948, his name was found in possession of a French National who spoke at Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party (cited by the Attorney General) meetings in Philadelphia. Hoffman was critical of Government loyalty program in Feb., 1949, stating he did not consider past membership in an organization later considered subversive to be "a public test of loyalty." His son Hallock was subject of a 1950 applicant investigation, developing no derogatory information. Since 1950 Hallock reportedly was leader of discussions attacking and discrediting the Declaration of Independence; opposed loyalty oaths; contacted Soviet Embassy regarding touring USSR; and signed testimonial to Dr. Harold C. Urey, atomic scientist. Paul Hoffman on Board of Fund for Peaceful Atomic Developments, Inc., established by Ford Foundation (1954). Public statements critical of Paul Hoffman's activities in Ford Foundation and FFR made by Congressman Carroll Reece, San Francisco attorney Aaron M. Sargent, columnist Westbrook Pegler, and Fulton Lewis, Jr., are set forth under the heading "Criticism," page 5, in details. Hoffman's published opinions concerning loyalty program, the aims of the and communism, are set forth in the details under the heading "Published Statements of Hoffman," page 7. (U)

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Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

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DETAILS:

The files have been reviewed concerning Paul Gray Hoffman pursuant to the Director's request for a summary. Paul Gray Hoffman is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic and has served in that capacity since his retirement as President and director of the Ford Foundation in February, 1953. Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast of May 15, 1953, was critical of the State Department for nominating Paul Hoffman for the position of delegate to the United Nations. He indicated that Hoffman's chances of being defeated for this nomination were slight although the White House was receiving a considerable amount of mail objecting to Hoffman's nomination. Lewis commented that Hoffman's appointment might slip through the Senate.

Hoffman was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the Bureau in July, 1953, at the request of the Secretary of State. A 26-page summary reflecting the results of that investigation was sent to the Attorney General, White House, and the Secretary of State on July 31, 1953. A subsequent summary concerning Hoffman dated April 1, 1955, was furnished to the Attorney General in connection with Hoffman's position as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic. Set forth below is information which was included in the above-mentioned 26-page summary reflecting the results of the Bureau's investigation of Hoffman:

Of the over sixty individuals interviewed during the investigation of Hoffman, the vast majority considered him as [illegible] possesses excellent traits of character, as one who associates with [illegible]-type individuals, as a loyal American citizen, and as well qualified for a position of trust with the United States Government. One person noted that Hoffman had received some public criticism for "[illegible]" the Ford Foundation with "so-called left wingers," while director of that organization from 1950 to 1953. Hoffman's leaving the Ford Foundation was attributed by some to the change of the Foundation's headquarters from California to New York, while others advised that the purpose of the change was to force Hoffman out as director. Two individuals, although they considered Hoffman loyal, said they did not recommend him on the basis of his [illegible] in "[illegible] out the [illegible]" while Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration.

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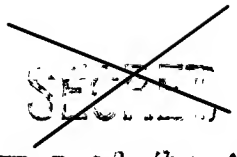
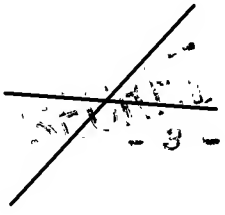


Alfred M. Kohlberg, Chairman of the American Jewish League Against Communism, New York City, stated that he first knew Hoffman in 1941 and 1942 when Hoffman did an outstanding job in raising funds for the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, United China Relief, and other charitable organizations. Although Kohlberg considered Hoffman loyal, he described him as "displaying complete naivete in the recognition of communism in the United States." One of the agencies reportedly maintained by Hoffman under the United China Relief was INDUSCO, also known as the American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. Informants who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised that INDUSCO was a communist front which diverted funds to communist-held territories.

In 1943 Hoffman was elected a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations which changed its name to American Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) in 1947. He remained a trustee of the IPR, which is alleged to have been controlled by a small core of communists and procommunist personnel, until 1948. Each year from 1943 through 1947 Hoffman contributed $100 to the IPR and was reported to be fairly active in getting others to contribute to it.

Hoffman's name was on a piece of paper found in the possession of Daniel Guerin, a French national who spoke at Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party meetings at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1948. The Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. The significance of this slip of paper found in Guerin's possession is not known.

In February, 1949, Hoffman was critical of the Government loyalty program as applied to Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) employees and asked Congress to eliminate the loyalty provision that barred persons who had formerly been members of organizations now on the Attorney General's list. The proposed change was to alter the requirement that the Administrator of ECA must testify in writing, to both foreign relations committees in Congress that he believed his employees were "loyal to the United States, its Constitution and form of Government." Hoffman stated that he did not consider past membership in an organization later considered subversive to be "a public test of loyalty."



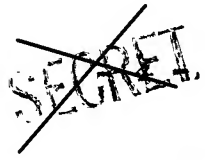
Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

An informant of unknown reliability, a student, advised that on September 17, 1952, Hoffman's son, Hallock, was the leader of a discussion held at Occidental College in Los Angeles. The informant said that Hallock Hoffman announced that the lecture would have a "political flavor and that the work would run from Socrates to Marx." The informant felt that the lecture was not conducted objectively and that they attacked the "Declaration of Independence, discredited it, and mocked it."

Hoffman's son, Hallock Hoffman, Assistant to the President of the Fund for the Republic (FFR), was investigated in 1950 under the Atomic Energy Act at which time no derogatory information was developed. In articles in the "Daily People's World" of August 4, 1953, and the "Los Angeles Mirror-News" of March 31, 1955, Hallock Hoffman's opposition to loyalty oaths is set forth. [On February 11, 1955, Hallock Hoffman contacted the Soviet Embassy to find out if the U.S.S.R. had lifted restrictions on tourists and whether he would be permitted to travel there as a tourist.] Hallock Hoffman's name appears as a signer of a scroll presented to Dr. Harold C. Urey (atomic scientist) at a testimonial dinner on February 12, 1955, held under the auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee. (105-85904) (U)

A press release dated December 20, 1954, on the Fund for Peaceful Atomic Development, Inc., reflects Paul G. Hoffman as one of the directors of that organization. The release characterized the organization as a private international program to develop peaceful uses of atomic energy which has been organized by a group of the nation's leading scientists, educators and industrialists. Its objective is to carry out the Atoms-for-Peace program of President Eisenhower and to make contributions in areas not touched by the Government. The organization is an independent grant-making organization established by the Ford Foundation. (100-348852-146; 100-418797-65 p.29)

Most of the information in Bufiles concerning Paul Hoffman subsequent to the Bureau's investigation can be divided into two main categories, namely: (1) Criticism of him as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Ford Foundation and later as Chairman of the Fund for the Republic; (2) His own public statements regarding loyalty programs, the aims of the FFR and communism.



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Criticism:

Congressman Carroll Reece in a speech on July 27, 1953, stated, "The communists have their own agency to smear the committees of the United States Congress and to defend communists hailed before them. It is called the Civil Rights Congress and has been listed by the Attorney General as communist and subversive. To give it liberal respectability, Mr. Paul Hoffman, former president of the Ford Foundation, was made chairman of this king-sized civil rights congress endowed by the Ford Foundation. The Fund for the Republic, as this Ford Foundation agency is named, has announced that it will make grants for an immediate and thorough investigation of Congress." (100-385355-42 p. 1053)

During the hearings before the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, House of Representatives, Hoffman made a statement in reply to Reece's speech. He stated that the declaration that the FFR is a "king-sized civil rights congress" and "given liberal respectability" by Hoffman's appointment as Chairman would be grounds for slander but for the fact that it was uttered by Representative Reece on the floor of the House. Hoffman stated that there was no basis whatever for the charge that the Fund for the Republic was established to attack the Congress. (100-385355-42 p. 1054)

On May 24, 1954, Aaron M. Sargent, attorney, San Francisco, California, testified before the House of Representatives Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations concerning what he considered an attempt of the Ford Foundation to engage in lobbying. He stated that the Ford Foundation had used its financial power to attempt to resist the will of the people in connection with a pamphlet known as the E in UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). This pamphlet was put out by the Los Angeles City School Department to promote various UNESCO activities and included the International Declaration of human rights. According to Sargent, Hoffman, as President of the Ford Foundation, had personally appeared before the Los Angeles Board of Education and sought to prevent the removal of these pamphlets from the Los Angeles City schools, and in so doing had engaged in lobbying, an activity prohibited to the Ford Foundation. (100-385355-42 p. 379)

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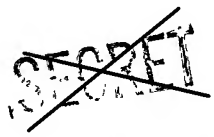
Westbrook Pegler in his column in the February 2, 1955, "Washington Daily News" described Paul Hoffman as the synthetic scholar with 24 honorary degrees from universities and colleges but with no authentic intellectual honors. Pegler stated that Hoffman had admonished the people of the United States to dare to dissent. He stated that "We pro-American dissenters have no organization, no foundations to subsidize and defend us." Pegler stated he was familiar with the career of Paul Hoffman and that he had never heard of a single instance in which he showed the courage to defend a pro-American dissenter from persecution even unto extinction by the book-burners of his side. (62-30434-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his radio broadcasts has made numerous statements critical of Hoffman in connection with his various broadcasts concerning the Fund for the Republic, its officers and its activities. In his broadcast of September 8, 1955, Lewis noted that one of the most puzzling factors concerning the choosing of Robert Hutchins and W. H. Ferry as President and Vice President of the FFR was that they were placed in these positions by Hoffman, "who claims to be a great and devoted friend to President Eisenhower and whose counsel is listened to by the President on frequent occasions." (94-4-2189-102)

In his broadcast of November 30, 1955, Lewis reported that Hoffman had testified before a Congressional committee favoring the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act but that he did not identify himself before that committee as connected with the Fund for the Republic which was actively interested in the immigration question. Lewis stated had he done so Hoffman would have violated the tax law provisions which forbid tax-exempt foundations from activities affecting legislation. (100-391397-306)

In his radio broadcast of May 3, 1956, Lewis criticized Hoffman and Robert M. Hutchins, President of the FFR. He stated that the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, which Hoffman heads, lost $23,700,000 last year and is losing money this year; that the stockholders are critical and angry; and that there are increased rumors about Hoffman's being on the way out of the corporation. Lewis described Hutchins as a supporter of "one-worldism" and stated that Hoffman, as Hutchins sponsor, underwrites his ideas. Lewis expressed concern that the White House was pushing Hoffman for a place on the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly and stated "This is the Fund for the Republic . . . bidding for a place on the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly." (94-4-2189-304)



Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

Published Statements of Hoffman: SECRET

The "Boston Traveler," in its November 5, 1953, issue, contained an article by Benjamin George Mublin (subject of a 1955 security matter - c investigation) in which he stated as follows:

"In view of the attacks on leading educators, clergymen, and public figures by many of our congressmen, it was most encouraging to read the remarks of PAUL G. HOFFMAN, chairman of the Studebaker Corp., at a building dedication at Oberlin College. I agree with him that 'we have no thought police, but discussion, criticism, and debate can be stifled by fear as well as force . . . Of all forms of tyranny over the mind of man, none is more terrible than fear - to be afraid of one's self among one's neighbors.'" (100-418067-1)

The Fund for the Republic (FFR) distributed 10,000 copies of an article by Paul Hoffman which appeared in the magazine section of "The New York Times" for November 14, 1954, entitled "To Insure the End of Our Hysteria." In this article Hoffman expressed the opinion that fear had been engendered in the minds of American citizens to a serious degree as a result of the methods taken to combat communism.

An article in the June 28, 1955, "Oregonian," Portland, Oregon, reported that Hoffman made the keynote address before the Advertising Association of the West. In this address he declared that the right of debate in the present-day America is impaired. He stated that there was a question as to whether we are willing to deteriorate into a society in which people who are labeled controversial are not allowed to speak their piece. Hoffman continued saying that adherence to the principle of due process of law is being challenged and that we are faced with a newly evolved process of trial by innuendo, or public accusation in which the accused is assumed guilty until proved innocent. Hoffman called this procedure "a new form of Ku Klux Klanism" by which "a group of Americans having no judicial status whatsoever can set itself up to pass on the loyalties of fellow citizens and gain a considerable measure of acceptance. It is an atmosphere in which self-confessed ex-communists can make charges of their own choosing that can ruin innocent Americans without legal proof." (77-53960-A)

In a letter dated September 15, 1955, signed by Paul G. Hoffman, the Board of Directors of the FFR issued a press release in response to criticism by Seaborn P. Collins, national commander of the American Legion. In this letter the Board expressed its concern that the commander of the Legion should be misinformed, and should misinform

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others about the purposes and programs of the FF. The letter stated that since its inception the Board had regarded the sphere of the Fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights and has taken as its basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. (100-391697-215)

"The New York Times" of November 5, 1955, reported that Paul Hoffman had stated that much of the recent criticism of the Ford Foundation and the FFF had been based either on misunderstanding or plain stupidness. Hoffman, in defense of a $300,000 grant for a study of the Communist Party in America, stated "Communism is not something that's going to die tomorrow. We're going to have to reckon with it for a long time to come. So we had better find out all we can about it." Hoffman defended the retaining of Earl Browder, former Communist Party leader, as a source of information by the Fund, stating "Naturally you find out about communism from people who know about it." (100-391697-205)

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STANDARD FORM NO. 64

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: [illegible] Director

DATE: [illegible]

FROM: [illegible] J. P. Mohr

2140

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

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DATE 8-7-89 BY [illegible]

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filed in:

Pages A4442-A4445 Congressman Reece, (R) Tennessee, extended his remarks concerning tax exempt foundations. He stated that the Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations revealed much that should disturb Americans. Mr. Reece remarked that "Still, to my knowledge, it did not uncover an instance of a foundation being sued for libel." He cited the example of Dr. Bella V. Dodd, former Communist, who has named the Fund for the Republic, its officers and trustees, and Harper's magazine as defendants in a suit for damages. This action was resulted from an article entitled "The Kept Witnesses," which was circulated to labor officials and business executives by the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Reece pointed out that Dr. Dodd is fighting to rectify a wrong to herself and to defend the very agencies which loyally strive to preserve our as a sovereign Nation. Mr. Reece inserted the complaint against the Fund for the Republic in the Record, which contains several references to the Department of Justice. They have been marked for your attention.

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100-39691-384

In the origin[illegible] archive, the Congressional Record for [illegible] ment items were marked for th[illegible] prepared in order that portions of [illegible] clipped, mounted, and placed in [illegible] ge.

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